

Personal Obstacles or Invisible Structural Barriers?

A Study of Job-Hunting, Working Experience and Occupational Attainment of Chinese

Immigrants in Saskatoon

A Thesis Submitted to the
College of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Master of Arts
In the Department of Sociology
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon

By

Yi Qin

PERMISSION TO USE

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Master of Arts degree from the University of Saskatchewan, I agree that the Libraries of this University may make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for copying of this thesis in any manner, in whole or in part, for scholarly purposes may be granted by the professor or professors who supervised my thesis work or, in their absence, by the Head of the Department or the Dean of the College in which my thesis work was done. It is understood that any copying or publication or use of this thesis or parts thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to the University of Saskatchewan in any scholarly use which may be made of any material in my thesis.

Requests for permission to copy or to make other uses of materials in this thesis in whole or part should be addressed to:

Head of the Department of Sociology
University of Saskatchewan
1019 - 9 Campus Drive
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan S7N 5A5
Canada

OR

Dean
College of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
University of Saskatchewan
116 Thorvaldson Building, 110 Science Place
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan S7N 5C9 Canada

ABSTRACT

As the first country in the world to adopt multiculturalism in the Constitution, Canada is proud of its inclusiveness, cultural diversity, and belief that all citizens have equal opportunities regardless of ethnicity. However, several scholars point out there is a new type of racism rising, in which racist behaviors and attitudes are implicitly expressed in a muted, covert, or polite way (Wang, Zong and Li 2012; Wang et al. 2011; Zong and Perry 2011).

This research study focuses on Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon and aims to disclose the structural barriers and racial discrimination perceived by immigrants. By using a mixed-method design, including quantitative survey and qualitative semi-structured interviews, this research focuses on Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon and their experiences of job-hunting, and daily work through a gender lens.

The survey result shows that more than 75% of the respondents do not feel being discriminated, even though many of them experience structural barriers such as the devaluation of their foreign credentials and working experiences. The interviews, on the contrary, suggest that most of the interviewees have had some “uncomfortable” experiences but prefer not to label such experiences as discrimination. This result, I would like to argue, supports the notion that implicit racism does exist in the social structure and daily life practices of Chinese immigrants. These trends prevent them from full participation in the labor market thereby hindering their integration into mainstream society.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the unfailing support and nurturing of my supervisor, Dr. Li Zong. I would like to thank him for his generosity of sharing his thoughts and time, and never giving upon me even when I had little faith in myself.

I would also like to extend my deepest gratitude to Dr. Hongming Cheng for being my acting supervisor, as well as a committee member, when Dr. Zong was unable to attend the oral defense and supervising me for the rest of program.

I also wish to thank Dr. Patience Elabor-Idemudia for her kindness, insightful suggestions, and being my committee member even after the retirement.

Thank should also go to Dr. Jing Xiao for consenting to be my external examiner and giving tremendous comments.

I would like to extend my gratitude to Dr. Harley Dickinson, Dr. Terry Wotherspoon, Dr. Laura Wright, Dr. Kara Somerville, and Barb Wotherspoon for their wonderful support throughout my days in the program.

Special thanks to my fellow graduate students, Siyu Ru, Wei Chen, Nina Gao, Yiyan Li, and my dearest friends, Laurel, Jessica and Cynthia. I would not have been here without all your relentless support.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, who always support me without a second of hesitation.

I hope I made you proud.

CONTENTS

PERMISSION TO USE.....	i
ABSTRACT.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
DEDICATION.....	iv
CONTENTS.....	v
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	7
2.1 Current Literature on Chinese Immigrants Occupational Attainment in Canada.....	7
2.2 New Racism in Contemporary Canada	10
2.3 Chinese Immigrant Women.....	13
2.4 History of Chinese Immigrant in Saskatoon: Before and Now.....	15
CHAPTER 3: THEORIES.....	19
3.1 A Two-way Process Perspective.....	19
3.2 Standpoint Theory.....	22
3.3 Intersectionality.....	25
CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY: A MIXED METHOD APPROACH.....	28
4.1 Quantitative Method: A Survey.....	28
4.2 Qualitative Method: A Semi-Structured Interview.....	29
4.3 A Mixed Method Approach.....	31
4.4 Ethical Considerations.....	32
CHAPTER 5: SURVEY DATA RESULTS AND ANALYSIS.....	34
5.1 General Portrait of Chinese Immigrants in Saskatoon.....	34
5.2 Applying Two-Way Process Perspective	40

5.2.1 Occupational Attainment and Major Difficulties	40
5.2.2 Discrimination Against Chinese Immigrants	42
5.2.3 Does Gender Play an Important Role?	43
CHAPTER 6: INTERVIEWS AND ANALYSIS.....	45
6.1 Key Themes in the Interviews.....	45
6.1.1 Language and Cultural Difference.....	45
6.1.2 the “Uncomfortable” Experience.....	47
6.1.3 Environment.....	49
6.1.4 Human Agency.....	50
6.1.5 Does Gender Play an Important Role?	51
6.1.6 Saskatoon: A Whistle Stop or the Second Hometown?	52
6.2 Applying Theoretical Tools.....	54
6.2.1 Racism in a Multicultural Society.....	54
6.2.2 The Feeling of Otherness: Orientalism.....	57
6.2.3 Gender Does Matter.....	60
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION AND LIMITATION.....	65
7.1 Main Findings Summary.....	65
7.2 Limitations of This Research	68
7.3 The Final Conclusion.....	69
REFERENCES.....	75
APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM.....	85
APPENDIX B: ETHICS APPROVAL.....	90
APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT.....	91
APPENDIX D: SURVEY QUESTIONS.....	92

LIST OF FIGURES

Graph 5.1 Chinese Immigrants' Highest Level of Education.....	35
Graph 5.2 Chinese Immigrants' Working Fields Comparisons.....	36
Graph 5.3 Chinese Immigrants' Annual Income Comparisons.....	38

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

To Canada, Chinese immigration is news that is both old and new. As old news, Chinese immigrants have been in this country for more than a century, since the first wave of gold-seekers came to British Columbia to find the Gold Mountain and young workers were brought to build the Canadian Pacific Railway in the 1800s (Chui, Tran, and Flanders 2005).

However, after the Pacific Railway was completed, Chinese immigrants, who had already suffered a lot from the dangerous work of building the railways, were rejected and turned against by Canadian society. Between 1885 and 1923, every Chinese immigrant that entered Canada was charged a fixed amount of fee, later known as the Chinese Head Tax. The amount of fee started from \$50 and raised multiple times until 1903 when it reached a maximum amount of \$500. The Head Tax then was abolished by the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923, later also known as the Chinese Exclusion Act, which further restricted Chinese immigrants by prohibiting most forms of immigration with a few exceptions such as diplomats, merchants and students (Lu and Zong 2017; Chui, Tran, and Flanders 2005).

As a nation of immigrants, the Canadian government used and still uses different methods to regulate immigrants from all over the world. But, no other immigrant from any other country was as strictly prohibited from entering Canada like Chinese immigrants during the era of exclusion. It took Canadian Chinese generations to generations to resist the profoundly institutionalized racism and discrimination.

It was in 1947, after the Second World War that discriminatory legislation against Chinese immigrants was repealed. The Canadian Citizenship Act passed in that year allowed Chinese to have equal opportunities to become citizens and to bring their families to Canada. Chinese began to gain civil rights (Li 1997; Lu and Zong 2017).

It was not until 1967 that Canada eliminated race and the “place of origin” section from the immigration policy and adopted a point system for selecting immigrants, Chinese immigrants were for the first time allowed under equal conditions with other ethnicities. Almost four decades later,

the Canadian government acknowledged the historical years of mistreatment of Chinese immigrant. In 2006, the Prime Minister Stephen Harper in his speech in the House of Common, made a formal apology for the discriminatory Chinese Head Tax policy and the Chinese Exclusion Act (Lu and Zong 2017).

The flow of Chinese immigrants to Canada started to rise during the mid-1980s, and soon, the People's Republic of China became the top source country of immigrants to Canada (Chui, Tran, and Flanders 2005). Chinese immigrants who arrived in Canada in recent decades, unlike their pioneer counterparts, were highly educated and came with significant financial and human capital resources. Most of them entered Canada under the category of economic class to seek better opportunities for themselves and their families (Zong 2007).

However, neither having better education and better financial capitals, nor Canada being a more diverse and inclusive society guarantees these recent Chinese immigrants will be treated equally and not experience discrimination. As many professions and industries in Canada use Canadian experience and certificates as one of the hiring requirements, many immigrants found difficulties in finding professional jobs as they expected. They experienced the devaluation or non-recognition of their foreign credentials and occupational experience and faced financial downturn caused by the devaluation. A taxi driver with a Ph.D. degree is not a rare case in Canada (Wang, Zong, and Li 2012; Somerville and Walsworth 2010; Grenier and Li 2011).

Several scholars in North America have pointed out that a new form of racism is increasingly becoming pervasive (Wang, Zong and Li 2012; Wang et al. 2011; Zong and Perry 2011). Racist behaviors and attitudes against visible minorities are expressed in muted, covert, or more polite ways that appears non-prejudicial or discriminatory hence, is hard to point out explicitly. Some refer it as “democratic racism”, which can be justified in a democratic society to meet the principles of democracy through different ways (Henry et al. 2000; Li 2001)

To deal with new racism, some scholars suggest a “two-way” approach. The conventional one-way approach mainly focuses on immigrants’ personal obstacles and insufficiency that cause their poor integration into mainstream society. The two-way approach pays attention to both

personal difficulties, such as the language barrier, as well as structural barriers, such as unfair policies and treatments caused by institutionalized racial discrimination against immigrants (Wang, Zong and Li 2012: 207). While immigrants who live in Canada longer can overcome personal obstacles, structural barriers that go beyond the personal level cannot be solved by any individual themselves.

According to Statistics Canada 2016 census, majority of foreign-born immigrants currently live in four provinces: Ontario (51.1%), British Columbia (17.1%), Quebec (14.5%), and Alberta (11.2%) (Statistics Canada 2017). Chinese immigrant population shares the same distribution pattern and concentration. They live in major metropolitan areas. This has led to current studies of Chinese immigrants in Canada being conducted in cities such as Toronto and Vancouver, while Saskatoon, which is a Census Metropolitan Area (CMA), is paid attention to by only a few researchers. In the few studies about Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon, the history and the community building are the main themes (Yuen 2013; Woo 2016; Lu and Zong 2017). Some suggest that Chinese immigrants share the collective memories of Saskatoon local historical events and contribute to the development of Saskatoon and cultural bridge between Saskatoon and China. Although there is no concentrated area of Chinese business or residents, a so-called Chinatown in Saskatoon, the internal connection among the members of the Chinese community is strong. They consider themselves an integral part of Canadian society while also preserving their own distinct culture and a loose but important tie with the home country (Lu and Zong 2017).

However, there is hardly any research following up on these findings to explore the current situation of Saskatoon Chinese. According to 2016 Canadian Census, there are about 7,800 Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon. Three thousand eight hundred (3,800) of them were born in China, which constitutes 8.4% of the immigrant population of Saskatoon. Among the China-born, more than 67% of them are recent immigrants who migrated to Saskatoon in the most recent decade (2006-2016). Among these immigrants, there are more women than men (for both Chinese immigrants in total and the recent Chinese immigrants) (Statistics Canada 2017a, b, c). With this increasing flow of newcomers, the structure of the local Chinese community is changing.

To follow up on the previous studies of Saskatoon Chinese immigrants, this thesis focuses on the recent Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon. Through studying their occupational attainment and experiences of job hunting and daily working, this research aims to explore whether they have encountered discrimination and racism during their integration into the Canadian society. Four research questions are proposed:

1. What is the current situation of Chinese immigrant's occupational attainment in Saskatoon?
2. What difficulties did recent Chinese immigrants encounter during their job hunting and daily work?
3. Do Chinese immigrants experience racial discrimination during their job hunting and daily working? If they do, in what way(s) did they feel being discriminated and how did they deal with it?
4. Does gender play an important role in the process of Chinese immigrants' integration in terms of job hunting and daily working? Do women face different challenges compared to their male counterparts? If so, what are they?

A mixed-method data collection was designed to address these research questions, including a quantitative survey that I designed, distributed and collected and a semi-structured interview.

This thesis has three main objectives:

1. To utilize social exclusion theory, more specifically, two-way process of social integration perspective to explore and highlight the obstacles that Chinese immigrants are facing at different levels
2. To give a voice to Chinese immigrants to speak for themselves and address their perceived structural barriers that are rooted in the covert new racism by applying standpoint theory and intersectionality.
3. To contribute to current knowledge about Chinese community and immigrants in Saskatoon as well as to the body of knowledge about Chinese immigrants in Canada.

My motivation of choosing Chinese immigrants as the research topic relates to my personal experience. As an international student from China, I have been studying Sociology in Canadian

post-secondary educational institutions for eight years. During my undergraduate years, I was the only Chinese in all my Sociology classes most of the time. I had, and still have, a vague feeling of being an outsider of the universities I attended, the discipline I decided to dedicate myself to, and the society I live in for almost my entire adulthood. I constantly feel there is an absence, or deficiency of knowledge within both Sociology and the field of immigration studies that can provide explanations and rationales to my experiences, as well as many Chinese immigrants' experiences. Despite being one of the top Canadian sources of immigration, Chinese immigrants' voices, as I have observed for eight years, are still underrepresented within Canadian society and Sociology.

As a researcher, I am aware of my privileged of knowing and having ways to express my thoughts. I feel that I should voice for those who are disadvantaged and do not have a way, or even do not know how, to speak for themselves.

As a Chinese researcher at in a Canadian educational institution, I am aware that my identity of being an insider of the Chinese community is going to bring me the advantages for studying Chinese immigrants. Since we speak the same language, share the same culture and experience similar backgrounds of being Chinese in a foreign country, I am able to capture and understand the participants' delicate feelings and unsaid expression.

Being a Chinese woman in Canadian society, I understand both the benefit and limitation of my identity as a Chinese woman in her 20s to this research. I am capable of creating a relatively safe, comfortable and trustworthy conversation environment to the participants who are sensitive to the subjects they talk about without making them feel threatened or coerced. I also realize that some participants could underestimate this research's validity and reliability or my identity as a serious researcher because of age and gender differences. Nevertheless, such limitation can be reduced by formally and straightforwardly establishing my researcher identity at the beginning of interaction with the participants and reminding the participants during the research if they were confused about the boundaries.

In the research, my position is not only an observer or a Sociological researcher but also a member of the community. I built trusty relationships with my participants, which they trust me with their personal experiences and information so that I can have an opportunity to speak for them.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Current Literature on Chinese Immigrants Occupational Attainment in Canada

In the field of studying Chinese immigrants in Canada, economic integration is one of important elements to assess the extent of immigrants' social integration. Its evaluation is through measurable indicators, such as income. Some scholars suggest that compared to using earnings to make inferences about immigrants' economic assimilation, studying occupational outcomes can help to make a more comprehensive assessment. Instead of one variable like income, occupational outcomes take a number of variables into consideration, including age, gender, education, language skills, country of origin, etc. (Grenier and Xue 2011).

The point system that Canada is currently using allows a high percentage of immigrants to arrive in Canada with high levels of education and professional credentials. This system would suggest that the more favourable human and economic capital immigrants bring to Canada, such as high level of education and rich working experience, the more likely they will have greater labour market success. However, existing research suggests the opposite: most of immigrants are unable to find professional jobs that match their education as expected because of devaluation or non-recognition of their foreign credentials. This leads to a prevailing downward occupational mobility among new immigrants, while different gender groups within the new immigrant community experience unique and disproportion disadvantages (Lu and Hou 2019; Shan 2015; Wang, Zong, and Li 2012).

Chinese immigrants make up the third largest ethnic group of recent immigrants and the second largest immigrant population in total (Statistics Canada 2017d). More than 61% of Chinese immigrants entered Canada under the category of Economic Class (including both the principal and secondary applicants) (Statistics Canada 2017a). When it comes to the issue of labor market participation, Chinese immigrants share the same pattern as the general immigrant population in

terms of devaluation of foreign credential, education-job mismatch and downward occupational mobility.

Some scholars suggest immigrants tend to experience a U-shaped pattern, regarding occupational status, from the pre-migration jobs in the country of origin to the post-migration jobs in the receiving country (Chiswick et al. 2003, 2005). As immigrants stay in Canada longer, they begin to find jobs that are closer to the ones they had before migration. Many studies echo this result and tend to reveal that immigrants face downward occupational mobility and have difficulty finding jobs that reflects their education and skills upon their initial arrivals, but the situation improves afterwards when they stay longer (Grenier and Xue 2011). For example, Green (1999) estimated the occupational distribution of immigrant and native workers by using the Canadian censuses of 1981, 1986, 1991. The results suggest that in the first three years, immigrants experienced rapid changes by moving from the non-employment status and low skilled jobs to jobs that require higher skills that match their original intentions. Some scholars suggest a longer time period of adjustment, usually 10 to 15 years (Preston et al. 2003; Wang and Lo 2005).

Besides immigrants' personal effort and time spent, some other researchers suggest a different point of view by taking structural issues into consideration. Some points out that the problems lie with the immigration system. In their study of skilled immigrants from India who are currently residing in Toronto, Somerville and Walsworth (2010) reveal that the Canadian point system misleads immigrants into thinking that because their education and work experience are awarded by the point system, their foreign credentials will be valued in Canada. They feel intense disappointment when they find out their credentials and experience are devalued or not recognized, and that Canadian credentials and experience are required in their given field after they arrived in Canada.

Studies on Chinese immigrants reflect the similar pattern. In Zong's (2004) study of international transference of human capital and occupational attainment of recent Chinese professional immigrants, the downward occupational mobility is significant. The basis of analysis of this study is the survey data collected in Vancouver, Toronto, Ottawa, Calgary, Edmonton, and

Saskatoon between 1997 and 1999. One thousand and one hundred eighty (1,180) Chinese professional immigrants were surveyed. The results showed that the major systemic barrier identified by the respondents is the devaluation or non-recognition of their foreign credentials and work experience by professional organizations, government evaluation agencies, and educational institutions (2004: 9). This result is supported by many more recent studies (see Grant and Nadin 2005; Essess and Dietz 2007; Osaze 2017). For example, Guo (2013) investigates the integration experience of recent Chinese immigrants in Calgary and Edmonton and suggests that many recent Chinese immigrants have encountered multi-faceted barriers during their integration, particularly in the areas of language and employment. After their migration to Canada, the participants in the study experienced devaluation of their prior education and work experience that led to unemployment or underemployment, poor economic performance, and downward social mobility.

The overall scenario of occupational attainment of Chinese immigrants is therefore discouraging. While a large number of Chinese immigrants with considerable human capital are attracted by Canada and its immigration policy, the devaluation of their foreign credentials and work experience is almost inevitable after they came to Canada. The issue of devaluation of foreign credentials have been raised over the decades yet, it continues to persist. According to a report released by Statistics Canada in December 2019 on the issue of education among immigrants (Lu and Hou 2019), university educated recent immigrants in Canada have a much higher likelihood of over-education in the labor market performance than their U.S. counterparts. While recent immigrants in both Canada and the U.S. are more likely to experience a mismatch between education and occupation than their native counterparts, those in Canada face a much more pronounced gap (2019: 20).

Scholars such as Lamontagne (2003: 14), have used the term “seduction and abandonment” to describe the situation whereby Canada attracts skilled workers and recruits them based on their advanced skills, and then leave them to their own devices in a system that does not recognize their skills resulting in unmet expectations. Other scholars (Zong 2007; Wang et al. 2012) have pointed out that Chinese immigrants face a dilemma in the Canadian labor market: on the one hand, the

devaluation of foreign credential and work experience that disqualifies immigrants' entry to professional jobs resulting in zero chance of gaining Canadian experience. On the other hand, the emphasis on Canadian experience as a requirement for professional employment makes it difficult for immigrants to qualify for these jobs. This vicious cycle eventually pushes immigrants into working-class jobs and restricts and marginalizes them to the ethnic enclaves.

2.2 Chinese Immigrant Women

Since the phrase "feminization of immigration" was coined, the gradual increases of the female immigrants' percentages in the international migration, was incorporated into the sociology of immigration studies. There has been an explosion of the literature on immigrant women in the last two decades (Zhou 2000; Boyd 2006). Existing studies indicate that women are equally active participants in migration as their male counterparts, both within and between countries. However, women face different circumstances and experiences that are distinct from men, which produces different propensities and outcomes in migrating and in settlement for them (Boyd 2006).

Similar to studies of immigration in general, labor market participation and occupational attainment constitute one of indicators of immigrant women's social integration. While immigrant women face the same challenges of language barriers, the foreign credential devaluation, lack of Canadian working experiences and the mismatch between credentials and jobs as immigrant men upon the immediate arrival to Canada, they are more likely to be underemployed or unemployed and have less income than their male partners.

Compared to their Canadian-born counterparts, immigrant women are more likely to have completed a university certificate or degree at the bachelor's level or above (Hudon 2015). But their rate of participation in the labor force is lower than that of immigrant men and Canadian born women (Boyd and Pikkov 2005; Hudon 2015) and it takes a longer time for immigrant women to find jobs and to become labor force participants. They earn less income compared to their Canadian-born counterparts, but the time they spend in Canada narrows the wage gap gradually. Immigrant women are mostly employed in sales and service occupations, and in business, finance

and administration. And because 38% of all immigrant women had attained a bachelor's level education or higher, occupations in education, law and social services, community and government services and healthcare are common choices for them (Hudon 2015).

One reason for the immigrant women's lower rate of participation in labor force and lower wages is their status of entering Canada. Immigrant women are admitted as permanent residents mainly through two ways: under the economic class as the spouses or the dependents of the principal applicants, who are often the male members, husbands or fathers, in the family; and under the family class as being sponsored by family members who are Canadian citizens or permanent residents (Hudon 2015). They are more likely to be the ones who take care of children and housework, which limit their participation in the labor market and in education/self-improvement programs; hence the trend reinforces their language barriers and social isolation. Additionally, their dependent legal status often makes them invisible to government programs and assistance (Zhou 2000). Compared to their male counterparts, immigrant women are more likely to be disadvantaged because they face "double or triple oppression" consisting of nationality, class, and gender (Boyd 1986; Zhou 2000).

Among female immigrants, the most frequently reported birth country is the People's Republic of China (Hudon 2015). Chinese immigrant women have a similar experience as immigrant women in general when it comes to occupational attainment. They are more susceptible to underemployment or unemployment. Their income is not comparable to either their female Canadian-born counterpart or their male counterparts from China (Lo and Wang 2003). Language barrier is a major challenge for them. While Chinese immigrant women felt their inadequate command of English specific to their professions (such as in engineering, accounting, medicine, etc.) posed a barrier to employment, many of them also found that the language institutions and programs are too elementary. The language classes did not assist them in learning the professional terminologies that they needed in finding jobs that match their qualification. Many can only find work in the ethnic enclave for which they are overqualified for their part-time jobs which are low-paid and insecure (Man 2004).

Also, current studies suggest that under the harsh and unstable condition of the country upon their arrival, many Chinese women choose to stay at home to take care of children so that they can ensure the quality and stability of the marriage and family (Zhou 2000; Yu 2011; Man 2011; Yu 2015). But, because many of them were highly educated and had decent jobs in China, when they migrated and found themselves unemployed, they felt devalued, depressed and relegated to the home because of performing housewifery duties and becoming economically dependent on their husbands, (Man 2011). Despite the challenges, current technology makes it much more convenient to maintain long distance connections through internet than before, immigrants still largely leave their social networks behind when they migrate (Hudon 2015). Building new local networks and connections in the new country is essential but may takes a long period of time. Compared to Canadian-born women, immigrant women have fewer social connections (Hudon 2015). The absence of a support system in the new country, lack of help from extended family members or acquaintance for example, puts them under pressure. Their household and childcare responsibilities in turn limit them from actively participating in labor market, especially in full-time positions (Man 2004).

On the other hand, statistics indicate that the number of Chinese immigrant women as the principal applicants is growing in recent years (Hudon 2015; Statistics Canada 2017a). The uncertainties in the new country also are considered by some as an opportunity to negotiate new ways of interacting within the families, which could potentially lead to the evolution of new gender structures. Previous studies suggest that many immigrant women are empowered and liberalized when they are influenced by more egalitarian gender norms and have more economic opportunities (Yu 2011). Some suggest that earlier arrival and better command of English can establish women as the breadwinner in the household and reverse the traditional pattern of male breadwinner/ female homemaker labor division. Such career women, however, face guilt and anxiety of being unable to fulfill the traditional gender role as caring mothers who can be there for their children all the time and being a good wife who does not overly succeed and surpass their husbands (Zhou 2000; Man 2011).

2.3 New Racism in Contemporary Canada

Several scholars in North America have pointed out contemporary form of racism is different. In the context of the United States, some refer it as symbolic racism, or modern racism, and suggests that overt prejudice and discrimination against black Americans is now replaced by subtle negative attitudes (Sears, Sidanius, and Bobo 2000; Redlawsk, Tolbert, and McNeely 2014). Many suggest that symbolic racism is a latent psychological belief system that disfavors racial minorities, especially black Americans.

In comparison to a more traditional and narrower definition of racism, in which case, the accusation of racism often comes from race-based interpersonal aggression, this type of racism reflects the idea that racial discrimination today is not a serious obstacle for black Americans to have a desirable life anymore. So black Americans should blame themselves for not working hard enough and causing their own continuing disadvantages (Tarman and Sears 2005). Native-born American whites, the dominant group members, learn and adopt this latent belief system through their pre-adult socialization, which is the important stage of developing identity formation, from various social institutions, such as the media and the education system (Berg 2012). It is widely suggested that symbolic racism is an extensively powerful predictor of political attitudes and behaviors in a wide array of settings (Redlawsk et al. 2014).

In the context of Canada, society and people seem to distance themselves from racism. As the first country in the world to adopt multiculturalism as an official policy in the world, Canada is proud of its inclusiveness, diversity and the idea that all citizens are equal regardless of their ethnicity, culture and religious belief. Since Prime Minister of Canada Pierre Elliott Trudeau declared in 1971 that bilingualism and multiculturalism were to be implemented in Canada in his pivotal speech in Parliament, anti-assimilationism and multiculturalism are officially established as Canadian core features in cultural respects (Richter 2011: 37). The explicit manifestation of racism and discrimination against immigrants are much less profound in today's Canadian society.

Yet, some scholars argue that multiculturalism in Canada is a national myth and that Canada is neither the paragon of racial tranquillity nor the racist-free heaven (Fleras 2014). While

multicultural policies tend to represent Canada as a friendly and welcoming country to immigrants, policies in reality function to create the structure that keeps visible minorities in a marginal social, political, cultural, and economic relationship to the mainstream society of Canada (Dua et al. 2005).

Fleras (2014) suggests that in contemporary Canada:

Racism is so normalized and naturalized in history and society that the combination of historical amnesia and collective denial glosses over the harsh realities of a racialized society divided by colour and ethnicity. Racisms are persistent, pervasive, and pivotal in defining a racialized and white “superiority” society deserves serious consideration (pp. 8-9).

Some others take a less strong but straightforward tone to address the racism in contemporary Canada. Henry, Rees, and Tator (2010), in order to describe how racism can be justified in a democratic society like Canada without violating the principles of democracy, coined the term democratic racism. Li (1994; 2001) studied the racial discourse and suggested that in order to claim its legitimacy in a democratic society, racist discourse takes on a gentle appearance and becomes acceptable, sometimes even appealing, to most of members of the society through a e codified and sanctified language. Li also suggests that it is important to realize and accept racism as an everyday phenomenon often expressed in a less aggressive way without the label of racism.

In their study of the barriers to Chinese immigrants’ social integration, Wang, Zong and Li (2012) discussed the existence of new racism in today’s Canadian society. Despite the fact that postwar Chinese immigrants are quite different from their counterparts of earlier times, they still encountered new racism defined as a contemporary expression of hostility toward visible minorities and goes undetected by conventional measures. Instead of being explicit, the new racist attitudes and behaviors are often in disguised or covert ways that appear non-prejudicial or non-discriminatory (Wang et al, 2012:220). For example, today’s discrimination against Chinese immigrants is less likely based on biological differences, such as skin color, but on perceived cultural differences. While the majority of Canadian accepts racial equality and multiculturalism as core values of Canada, cultural ethnocentrism is still prevalent. This type of contradiction in values reflects the ideological basis of new racism.

The structural barriers created by new racism today are not like those of the past. Chinese immigrants are not likely to be excluded explicitly by the Chinese Exclusion Act today, but they are excluded by preference of Canadian education, and the non-recognition of their foreign credentials. Just as the integration of immigrants is considered through every dimension of life - economic, social, cultural, and political, so is racism. Elimination of discriminatory laws and policies is not equal to the elimination of racism. Without denying the positive influence of multiculturalism ideology that creates a more inclusive and tolerant atmosphere within Canadian society, it is important to realize that the understanding of racism should not be limited to the surface manifestation of prejudice and discrimination. It encompasses a highly dynamic set of complex ideologies, institutional and societal practices of symbolic and material marginalization and exclusion that are informed by deep Eurocentric beliefs and values. And through cultural production, including but not limited to mass media, interpersonal relations, and institutional and societal practices, new racism is widespread and profound existing without being noticed (Taylor and Hoechsmann 2011).

Despite the different terms that scholars use such as symbolic racism, democratic racism or new racism, racism in contemporary society has some characteristics that distinguish it from the past. It is less overt but more covert. It is less about biological differences but cultural differences. It was eliminated, or at least reduced in policies and laws, but still is prevalent in societal and institutional practices. Because of its subtlety and ubiquity, it is more difficult for people to recognize its existence.

2.4 History of Chinese Immigrant in Saskatoon: Before and Now

The majority of existing literature on Canadian Chinese immigrants is based on the research conducted in major metropolitan areas, such as Toronto and Vancouver (Man 2011; Guo 2013). Immigration is increasing in smaller metropolitan areas, and yet, the experiences of immigrants in these areas have been largely overlooked by researchers. There is clearly a significant gap in

studying immigrants in smaller cities that requires more attention and recognition from researchers and policymakers (Guo 2013).

Saskatoon, the largest city in the province of Saskatchewan, as well as a Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) defined by Statistics Canada, has received attention from only a few researchers (see Yue 2013; Woo 2016; Lu and Zong 2017). In these few studies, community building and history of Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon are the common themes.

The history of Chinese immigrants in Saskatchewan started along with the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railways. During the late 1800s and early 1900s, Chinese workers were seen as a threat to the mainstream society in terms of employment opportunities as well as the Western culture. Increasing hostility to Chinese in British Columbia drove them elsewhere and some of them moved to Saskatchewan (Lu and Zong 2017). The first Chinese immigrant settled in Moose Jaw, which was selected as the divisional point of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1882 (Lee Smith 2005). Eight years later, the first Chinese business, a Chinese laundry, opened there (Lu and Zong 2017). By 1913, Moose Jaw had about 450 Chinese men and 2 women, the largest Chinese immigrant population within the province (Zong 2005).

The earliest census record of Saskatoon's Chinese immigrants is in 1921: 228 Chinese immigrants lived in Saskatoon. A small Chinatown with a few businesses including Chinese laundries, grocery stores and restaurants was established in the 1920s. But this Chinatown was short-lived and only thrived roughly for a decade. In the late 1920s, it was bulldozed to make way for the new Saskatoon Technical Collegiate and the Royal Canadian Legion Hall. Until today, there is no concentrated area of Chinese business or residents in Saskatoon. The community is physically dispersed throughout the city. Because of the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923, which prohibited Chinese immigrants' entry into Canada, the population of Chinese in Saskatoon decreased significantly from the 1930s and 1940s. After the Act was repealed, the population started to grow. A significant growth took place after the point system of immigration was adopted after 1967. Saskatoon's Chinese population in 1981 was about six times what it was in 1961 (Lu and Zong 2017).

Due to the lack of historical data, it is difficult to find out the historical change of Saskatoon's Chinese immigrants. Lu and Zong (2017) suggest that the changes of composition of Chinese in Saskatoon may have a similar pattern to the overall Chinese immigrants in Canada. Chinese immigrants who arrived from the 1970s to the mid 1990s were mainly from Hong Kong and Taiwan. By the late 1990s, mainland China became the top source country (Chui et al. 2005). The Chinese population in Saskatoon showed a similar pattern: the mainland-born Chinese became the dominant group of ethnic Chinese since 1996 (Lu and Zong 2017).

In their analytical overview of the Chinese community in Saskatoon, Lu and Zong (2017) suggest that despite the population of Chinese immigrants and Chinese organizations in Saskatoon, their numbers are smaller than those in major metropolitan areas, such as Toronto and Vancouver. The new Chinese immigrant population grew fast in the 1990s and the organizations became more diverse to meet and support the newcomers' needs. The internal connections among immigrants are strong, even though there is no concentrated area like a Chinatown. Saskatoon's Chinese have a unique identity that distinguishes them from other Chinese immigrants in other cities. A nostalgic allegiance to their culture draws the Chinese together.

They see themselves as an integral part of Canadian society with a culture that differentiates from the mainstream Anglo-Saxon culture. Such a unique cultural identity motivates them to maintain loose but important ties with their home country, China. The Saskatoon Chinese not only makes contributions to the development of their own ethnic community, but also share the collective memories of local historical events and have contributed and are still contributing to the economic development of Saskatoon and are a cultural bridge with China. They are proud of their contribution to the city and regard the official recognition of their contribution as an important indicator of integration (Lu and Zong 2017: 87).

Moreover, Lu and Zong (2017) also mention that the absence of an economic center in Saskatoon for Chinese community leads to the lack of a power structure and networks like Chinatowns in Toronto and Vancouver. On the one hand, the loose structure of Chinese organizations creates the mutual collaboration and inclusiveness based on a relatively equal basis.

On the other hand, it also leads to the absence of a strong and representative voice to protect and defend the rights and interests of the community. But the negative side of not having a presentative voice is considered as alleviated largely due to the elimination of discriminatory laws and Canadian society today being more inclusive.

Lu and Zong's study (2017) thoroughly portray the development of the Chinese community in Saskatoon, and yet, there is rarely research following up on these findings to explore the current situation of Saskatoon Chinese. According to the 2016 census, there are about 7,800 Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon and 3,800 of them were born in China, which contributes 8.4% of the immigrant population of Saskatoon. Among the China-born immigrants, more than 67% of them are recent immigrants who migrated to Saskatoon in the most recent decade (2006-2016). Among these immigrants, there are more women than men (for both Chinese immigrants in total and the recent Chinese immigrants) (Statistics Canada 2017a, b, c). With this increasing flow of newcomers, the structure of local Chinese community may have changed.

To follow up the previous studies of Chinese immigrants' occupational attainment, Chinese immigrant women, Saskatoon Chinese immigrants, as well as the discussion on new racism in contemporary Canada, this thesis studies the recent Chinese immigrants and their occupational attainment and experience of job-hunting and daily working experience with a particular attention to gender differences.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Researches of Chinese immigrants' occupational attainment and Chinese immigrant women tend to be empirical and focus on human capital (Wang and Lo 2005; Guo and DeVoretz 2006; Grenier and Xue 2011). Meanwhile, more scholars realize the diversity and particularities of Chinese immigrants that distinguish them from other ethnic groups. They increasingly adopt different theoretical tools that traditionally were used in other fields of studies in their research. Inspired by these researchers, three theories and theoretical perspectives are introduced in detail in this chapter including: 1) two-way process perspective from social exclusion theory; 2) standpoint theory; 3) intersectionality

3.1 Social Exclusion Theory: A Two-way Process Perspective

The term “social exclusion” is a relatively new concept that originated in France initially. French socialist politicians used it to refer to individuals who are not included in the social security system at first. Over time social exclusion was broadened to cover other groups such as the unemployed and the homeless. Later, during the 1980s in France, the notion of social exclusion expanded to include the pariahs of the nation, which gave rise to xenophobia, political attacks upon and restrictions on the rights of immigrants (Taket et al. 2009:26). This concept then gained the attention of policymakers in Europe and was related to issues of poverty and unemployment.

At present, social exclusion has broadened its scope to other regions of the world and has become more diverse, heterogeneous and complicated as it now covers more issues than poverty and unemployment (Abrams et al. 2008; Fangen 2010). This leads its definition also become diverse. However, some characteristics of social exclusion are widely recognized and accepted. The first characteristic is that social exclusion is multidimensional, dynamic and relational (Abrams et al. 2008; Taket et al. 2009; Wang 2012). Its multidimensionality suggests that social exclusion is not limited to economics, such as exclusion from labor market, but it also involves other dimensions such as political, social and cultural. This dynamic suggests that social exclusion

is not a fixed status but a process that people can enter and exist under certain conditions, such as unemployment and re-entry into the labor market. The relationality is that people should be located within the context of family, community, and nation, instead of as separate individuals. People who are socially excluded experience a major discontinuity with the rest of the society (Abrams et al. 2008).

Relationality leads to the second characteristics: social exclusion prevents people from participating in the activities of the society in which they live (Abrams et al. 2008; Taket et al. 2009). In this sense, some scholars argue that the opposite of social exclusion is not integration or inclusion, but participation, especially in multicultural and multi-ethnic societies, in which values, attitudes and beliefs are various (Abram et al. 2008).

Social exclusion can thus be understood as the continuous and gradual exclusion from full participation in the social, including material and symbolic, resources produced, supplied and exploited in a society for making a living, organizing a life and taking part in the development of a (hopefully better) future (Steinert and Pilgram 2003: 6).

The conceptualization of social exclusion makes it one of appropriate theoretical tools for the study of immigration today. However, applying social exclusion theory to the study of recent Chinese immigrants is rare. This is possibly because recent Chinese immigrants come to Canada with better financial and human capital compared to their earlier counterparts. This trend makes the scope of observing their exclusion less clean-cut.

In their study of the barriers to Chinese immigrants' social integration, Wang, Zong and Li (2011; 2012) adopted one of important components of social exclusion theory, "two different sets of actors." This component focuses on when it comes to studying disadvantaged people, it is reasonable to pay attention to both parties in the process of integration, the "excluder" ("sources" or advantaged) and the "excluded" ("target" or disadvantaged). Based on this idea, they propose a "two-way approach" that requires focusing on both immigrants' personal barriers and structural barriers in analyzing the difficulties in Chinese immigrants' social integration. The process of immigrants' social integration is a dynamic two-way process that requires both individuals' effort and receiving country's supports. Recent Chinese immigrants enter Canada with significant

financial and human capital (Zong 2007), and yet, they are still largely confined to limited employment opportunities in ethnic businesses and segregated in working-class immigrant enclaves (Wang et al. 2012). It is clear that personal barriers can only partially explain their difficulties in the process of social integration and downward social mobility. While immigrants' personal barriers, such as inadequate language skills and lack of Canadian experience, can be overcome as they stay longer in Canada, structural barriers are beyond their control to solve.

They criticize the traditional one-way approach, which only focuses on immigrants' personal inadequate abilities and lack of experience, sees the failure of immigrants' poor integration as due to their own problems and neglects to examine the structural barriers. They define structural barriers as "unequal treatments and discriminatory laws, policies and programs rooted in and determined by institutionalized political and economic arrangements and social practices (e.g. devaluation or non-recognition of foreign credentials and work experiences)" that create big obstacles and limit immigrants' equal access to social goods, attributes and services (Wang et al. 2012: 207).

Canadian society today appears to have a more inclusive and friendly atmosphere by claiming its belief in multiculturalism and eliminating the discriminatory laws. Immigrants are less likely to face overt discriminatory behaviors and policies but more likely have to deal with "racist beliefs, racial stereotypes and cultural bias in the public sphere and civil society (Wang et al. 2012: 220)". The exclusion that recent Chinese immigrants receive is covert yet, institutionalized, as well as closely related to new racism, whereby racist ideologies and manifestation are expressed through disguised ways that appear non-prejudiced or discriminatory.

To address exclusion and racism that underlie the surface as received by Chinese immigrants, Wang, Zong and Li (2011; 2012) suggest it is important to take a two-way approach that pays attention to both immigrants and the structure. One of the possible strategies for addressing the hidden structural barriers to Chinese immigrants is to address the discrimination perceived by immigrants. In this way, immigrants' voices can be heard, and their shared lived experience can be added to the existing knowledge and understanding of social exclusion and new racism.

The two-way approach that stems from social exclusion theory provides a comprehensive explanation for this research. Multidimensional, dynamic and relational aspects of social exclusion indicate its inherent intersectionality that allows me to include multiple factors in the research, such as age, gender, education, year of landing, and etc. Requirement of paying attention to both individual and the structure inspires me to conduct a comprehensive research design that is able to address both sides. The advocacy of addressing immigrants' perceived discrimination enables me to give voices to Chinese immigrants while the discussion of new racism reminds me that there are obstacles under the surface that are beyond individual's control to solve or even recognize.

3.2 Standpoint Theory: An Outsider Within

In recent studies of Chinese immigration in Canada, researchers increasingly use the theoretical and analytic tools of feminism. As example, the metaphor "glass ceiling" was adopted in Guo's study of recent Chinese immigrants' economic integration in Canada (2013) to compose what he called a triple glass effect. It consists of a glass gate (denies immigrants' entrance to professional communities), glass door (blocks immigrants' access to professional occupation at high-wage firms) and glass ceiling (prevents immigrants from rising to managerial positions). Among theories that originated from feminism and now extended in scope to the immigration studies, standpoint theory becomes one of theories that attracts scholars' attention more and more to apply to their studies (see Maraj Grahame 2003; Man 2004; Yuen 2008; Chung 2013; Shan 2013, 2015).

Standpoint theory emerged as a feminist critical theory about relations between the production of knowledge and practices of power in the 1970s and 1980s (Harding 2004). It was first proposed by Nancy Hartsock in her *Money, Sex, and Power* in 1983 (Hekman 1997). By borrowing from Marx and applying her own feminist insights at the same time, Hartsock claims that women's unique standpoint provides "the justification for the truth claims of feminism while also providing it with a method with which to analyze reality" (10). As a mode of analysis, feminism leads people to respect experience and differences. Several feminist scholars, such as

Hekman (1997), Harding (1997), Smith (1997), and Collins (1997), put forward their critiques of Hartsock's work and thoughts around standpoint theory. The whole exchange of comments and thoughts generated a fruitful discussion of what standpoint theory is and what should be included in the consideration (Kokushkin 2014). Some basic features of standpoint theory emerged from the discussions. For instance, both Harding and Hartsock zoom in on women's shared experiences of oppression and call for taking these experiences in the position of standpoint theory's core. By taking the issues of multiplicity, diversity, and experience, standpoint theory is able to provide alternative sources of knowledge (Kokushkin 2014:11).

During the discussion of standpoint theory, Black feminist Patricia Hill Collins contributes significantly by articulating from a Black feminist's standpoint. In her response to Hekman's work (1997), Collins brings power into consideration and suggests several features of the standpoint theory. First, the idea of a standpoint refers to "historically shared, group-based experiences" because "group have a degree of permanence over time such that group realities transcend individual experiences" (1997: 375). In other words, groups can historically be subjected to discrimination regardless of the time when its members join them (Kokushkin 2014). The second feature relates to the issue of power. Collins (1997: 377) argues that "groups who have common placement in hierarchical power relations, share common experiences in such power relations". The third feature is about the significance of group consciousness, group self-definition, and the presentative voice within the structure of power and experience. Simply collapsing individual and group identity and setting the individual's standpoint as a proxy for the group, instead of comparing individual's voice with group's voice, can be problematic. Even among the oppressed groups, some groups are still more privileged, and their standpoints privileged over others. By stating this perspective, Collins departs from other white feminists' idea that all women can share a collective identity.

Apart from her discussion with other feminists on standpoint theory, Collins also notes that Black women intellectuals like herself, are socialized into white intellectual and academic life, in which Blacks and other racialized women remain marginalized. She, therefore, proposes a term,

“outsider within” to describe the stranger status of Black women intellectuals within sociology and other intellectual fields. She describes the position of Black women intellectuals as more likely to what many Afro-American women who worked as domestic workers have in their relationship with their white “families.” They are often seen as “honorary members,” but they could never belong to their white families. Despite their deep involvement, they remained as the outsiders. Collins argues it is because of this particular “outsider within” status, that Black women intellectuals can provide their unique insights from their standpoint that are difficult for established sociological insiders to see. Additionally, she further suggests that experienced reality is a valid source of knowledge and intellectuals who experience being an “outsider within” ought to learn to trust their personal experience and cultural biographies as significant sources of knowledge (Collins 2004: 122). Collins’s Black feminist epistemology challenges the fundamental premises of Eurocentric masculinist knowledge and provides an alternative that not only can relate to both gender and racial groups but is also available to other oppressed groups (Kokushkin 2014:13).

Today’s standpoint theory has expanded to include more fields that relate but exist separately from feminism. By utilizing the concept of standpoint, scholars in the fields such as race and ethnicity can claim their “positions of privileged knowledge that counter dominant unmarked knowledges (Kokushkin 2014:15).” The increasing application of standpoint in research on Chinese immigration is possible because more and more scholars are starting to realize the importance of adding their experience as valid sources of knowledge that does not quite fit into any previous existed theoretical explanation.

Adding standpoint theory in this research is due to three factors. The first is to achieve one of the objectives of this research: to give voice to immigrants to speak for themselves. This factor is similar to why I adopted the two-way approach from social exclusion theory but with a slightly different focus in direction. While the two-way approach suggests letting immigrants speak about their perceived structural barriers, standpoint theory validates their position and experience as the source of knowledge. Secondly, this research intends to pay extra attention to gender differences during the integration process of immigrants. As both an explanatory theory and a method, or a

theory of method according to Harding (2004), standpoint theory's feminist origin meets this intention with not only theoretical tools but also methodological guidance.

The third factor that informed my adoption of standpoint theory in this study is closely related to my personal experience. As Collins feels her "stranger" status as an outsider within sociology, I also feel relatable. Despite the increasing diversity in studies of Chinese immigrants and Chinese immigrant women, as a Chinese researcher trained and socialized in a white academic environment, I constantly sense the absence, or deficiency of knowledge that cannot quite explain what I, and many Chinese immigrants, experience on a daily basis. What creates this sense of knowledge inadequacy could be sociology's foundation whose basis is Eurocentric, masculinist knowledge that inherently neglects and underestimates knowledge of immigrants. It could also be due to the empirical research tradition of Chinese immigration studies that places emphasis on presenting empirical research results with less frequent theoretical application. Applying standpoint theory to this research, enables me not only to use the outsider within status to source knowledge that is unavailable according to what Robert Merton called "white male insiderism" (Harding 2004), but also to rethink from the standpoint of Chinese immigrants especially Chinese women, in Canada. Additionally, it provides an opportunity for me to develop respect and appreciation for Chinese immigrants' experiences that are different to mine.

3.3 Intersectionality

The intersectionality concept denotes an integrative model that focuses on the analysis of complex layers of exclusionism, and how the multiplicity of discriminations could construct unique alienating experiences for individuals. Discourses on intersectionality build from antiracist feminist thought that is highly critical of the patriarchal western traditions and the non-representation or misrepresentation of upper-middle-class white women-dominated mainstream feminism in explaining the experiences of women of color (Chiang, Low and Collins 2013).

Kimberle William Crenshaw (1989) introduces the term of intersectionality in her work "Demarginalized the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of

Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics.” She criticizes that there is ‘a single-axis framework that is dominant in antidiscrimination law and that is also reflected in feminist theory and antiracist politics (139)’. This single-axis framework dangerously simplifies the individual experiences regarding their identities. The blind spots of individuals' complex reality create a distorted analysis of racism and sexism, which often inaccurately assume that apart from the one particular marginalized identity, individuals all belong to the most dominant groups.

Crenshaw argues that Black women are marginalized and sometimes excluded from feminist theory and antiracist policy discourse because both of them are based on “a discrete set of experiences that often does not accurately reflect the interaction of race and gender (140).” Simply adding Black women into the established analytical structure cannot solve these problems of exclusion. It is crucial to take intersectionality into account because Black women’s experiences are the product of intersection of racism and sexism rather than the sum of racism and sexism (Crenshaw 1989).

Crenshaw further elaborates intersectionality in her work “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color (1991).” Focusing on violence against women of color, namely battering and rape in the article, Crenshaw explores the various ways in which race and gender intersect and shape the experiences of women of color, including structural intersectionality, political intersectionality and representational intersectionality. In the section of structural intersectionality, she talks about institutions, services and policies which were built to protect women in vulnerabilities fail to provide or provide limited help and support to women of color. This kind of failure is due to not recognizing intersectional experiences of women of color that produced by race, gender, and class. For political intersectionality, she talks about discourses of antiracism and feminism can erase women of color by using strategic silences. And representational intersectionality, or cultural intersectionality, Crenshaw talks about the image of women of color and contestations over these images in culture ignores the intersectional interests of women of color (1991).

After Crenshaw's works, many scholars of color (see Collins 1990; Anthias, Yuval-Davis and Cain 1992; Chow, Wilkinson and Baca Zinn 1996; Massaquoi and Wane 2007) work based on intersectionality. They expand the field by highlighting the significance of race, class and gender in women of color's experiences and how they are interlocked and intertwined with each other and constitute axes of oppression (Collins 2009; Engstrand and Larsson 2015). For example, Chiang, Low and Collins (2013) use an intersectional approach to study Chinese Immigrant women entrepreneurs' experiences in Australia and Canada. They suggest that immigrant women entrepreneurs do not fit in a general perception of entrepreneurs, which are considered as "independent profit-seekers, privileged with an entrepreneurial spirit and economic resources and power to exercise control and realize goals. (2013: 79)" Instead, immigrant women entrepreneurs run time and labor-intensive small business primarily and encounter discriminatory experiences that produced by racism and sexism in everyday life and business operations. Entrepreneurship does not end their experience of racism and sexism despite their efforts. They are marginalized and continue to struggle with intersecting effects of racism and sexism without institutional support.

Crenshaw (1991) argues that:

The failure of feminism to interrogate race means that the resistance strategies of feminism will often replicate and reinforce the subordination of people of color, the failure of antiracism to interrogate patriarchy means that antiracism will frequently reproduce the subordination of women (Crenshaw 1991: 1252).

To avoid these failures and produce a more comprehensive analysis of Chinese immigrants' experiences in Saskatoon, especially Chinese immigrant women, intersectionality is adopted in this research along with standpoint theory.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY: A MIXED METHOD APPROACH

The four research questions in this thesis essentially attempt to explore whether recent Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon experience discrimination that stems from new racism and how it affects their integration society in terms of occupational attainment and working experience with a focus on gender difference. To find answers to these questions, I use mixed methods to collect data that involve two methods, a survey and a semi-structured interview.

4.1 Quantitative Method: A Survey

There are few existing data about Chinese immigrants for use as reference. The survey in this research attempts to frame the general commonalities of Chinese immigrants' occupational attainment in Saskatoon.

The target population is Chinese immigrants born in China, at least 18 years old and currently living in Saskatoon. I developed and designed an electronic questionnaire for filling out online through Survey Monkey. Considering the language barrier, I developed the questionnaire that I translated into Mandarin and presented bilingually. The questionnaire contained 45 questions (including both close-ended and open ended) that respondents were asked to answer partially depending on their different answers.

The following information is asked of all respondents to portrait the general images: their gender; age; the highest education they have (the highest education they had in China, and the highest education they had in Canada); if they have any children, and if they do, how many children do they have; the time they landed; whether they are working now.

Depending on the answer to whether they are currently working, two sets of questions are designed. For those who answer yes, they are further asked the following information: work status (part-time or full-time) and field (before and after immigration); annual income (before and after immigration); working hours (before and after immigration); job satisfaction (before and after immigration); income satisfaction (before and after immigration); self-assessment of job-

education match (before and after immigration); difficulties encounter(ed) during job-hunt and daily working; if discriminated against during job-hunt and daily working; the degree of severity; in what ways they felt being discriminated. For those who answer that they are not currently working, they are asked the reasons for their unemployment; if they are satisfied with staying at home; if they plan to work in the future.

The questionnaire was administered in two ways. The first was to disseminate it via WeChat. WeChat is the most commonly used messaging and social media app used by Chinese. There are multiple chatting groups formed by Saskatoon Chinese on WeChat, and many of them contain 500 people, the maximum number a group can have. The second way is to deliver it through local Chinese community organizations. Currently, there are many Chinese community organizations in Saskatoon providing support for newcomers' settlement as well as social and cultural integration (Lu and Zong 2017). Some organizations hold several causal lectures through the years, especially during the summer, to provide important information to Chinese immigrants who are new in town or interested in the contents of the free lectures. These lectures also provide a platform for Chinese immigrants to meet new friends, communicate with acquaintances, and even find new job opportunities or investment opportunities. The recruitment flyers with information about the questionnaires were distributed during the lectures. I collected the survey data in Saskatoon from July 2019 to March 2020. In total, 121 surveys were collected and 116 of them qualified for analysis.

4.2 Qualitative Method: A Semi-Structured Interview

At the end of the survey, the respondents are asked if they would like to participate in a further interview. Those who were interested were asked to leave their contact information. Interviewees were then selected from these respondents.

During the interview, the respondents are asked several open-ended questions about their experiences of job-hunting and daily work. For those who are currently working, they were asked about their working field, working environment, the most challenging difficulties they had or have,

whether they felt discriminated against or treated differently because of their Chinese immigrant identity during job-hunting and daily working, and their future plan (to stay in Saskatoon or leave to another place). For those who were not gainfully employed, they were asked for the reason(s) for their unemployment, whether they tried to find a job after they arrived in Saskatoon. They were also asked to relate the most challenging difficulties they had/have in their daily lives, whether they felt discriminated against or treated differently because of their Chinese immigrant identity, and their future plan (to find a job or not, will stay in Saskatoon or not).

As this research has a special focus on gender differences with an emphasis on women, I purposefully selected female respondents to interview. Similar to the survey, the interview was conducted either in English or Mandarin depending on interviewee's choice. One interview lasted approximately 30 minutes to 1 hour. Ten participants were interviewed and eventually nine interviews were qualified for analysis. The interviewees chose the venues for the interview in order to make sure they are in places where they felt comfortable and safe to give their personal experience. Some interviews took place at their workplaces, some were at their home, and others were at public places where they felt comfortable. Most of interviews were audio-recorded and transcripts were produced in both English and Mandarin for the purpose of accurate reference. Thematic content analysis is the method used to interpret interview data.

There are three reasons for conduct a semi-structured interview. The first is to provide answers in detail to the research questions. Although the questions in the interview are similar to those in the survey, participants are able to provide more specific and personal experience during interview to enhance the understanding and explanation provided in the survey data. Secondly, it is an opportunity for research subjects to speak for themselves and share the ideas and experiences usually overlooked by previous researchers and me. One of the important themes of this research is to reveal the structural barriers that constitute new racism. Interviewing immigrants gives researchers a chance to capture covert racism and barriers that immigrants perceived but may not realize consciously.

4.3 A Mixed-Method Approach

Each method has its own strengths and limitations. Survey can collect a large number of samples, includes many variables and present straightforward statistical results that have generalizability, while its results could lack flexibility and questionable validity. Interview, on the other hand, is able to provide more specific and flexible answers and empower respondents, while the results could be biased and less representative. In order to benefit from both methods' strength and reduce each of their limitations at the same time, I adopted a mixed-method design in this research.

Mixed methods were not considered a unique research approach until recent decades, even though scholars and researchers have been applying multiple methods in studies for many years (Plano Clark et al. 2010). Despite its increasing popularity, debates around mixed methods never cease. Although its name "mixed method" is ubiquitous and seems to speak for itself, consensus on mixed method's meaning is complicated. Much discussion is about the differentiation of the terms of "quantitative" and "qualitative", as well as which elements are mixed in the research (Small 2011). Some regard "quantitative" method as using large samples, such as census data. Some others consider any studies that use formal mathematical models to analyze data as using quantitative method, even if the sample size is small. What "qualitative" method entails also raises discussions. Some researchers think small sample studies are qualitative despite the way of analysis because of the lack of statistical generalizability. Others use qualitative to describe studies that only rely on interpretive analysis (Small 2011:59).

In this research, I adopt the survey data as quantitative while the interview data is qualitative. In spite of the relatively small sample size, the survey data was analyzed through SPSS to find relations between variables. Interviews were subjected to interpretive and thematic analysis.

Besides the strengths that each method has, theories that guide this research also call for a mixed-method design. The two-way process from social exclusion theory emphasize on paying attention to both individual barriers and structural barriers. This calls for paying attention to both individual level and structural dimensions implies the need for a methodological tool that is able

to gather data that have both generalizability and specific interpretive information. A mixed-methods design that include both quantitative and qualitative is an appropriate tool to meet this requirement.

In regards to standpoint theory, although the core idea is to include minority individual's experience as a valid source of knowledge, Collins's idea of standpoint reminds me of two things: First, one's standpoint is not only based on her/his experiences, but also relates to the history and experience of the group that one belongs to. Second, using one's standpoint to represent group's standpoint, rather than make comparison between them, is problematic. These two reminders indicate that while we empower individual immigrants and let them speak for themselves, it is also important that we locate them in the bigger context and compare their experience within the group that they belong. This point echoes the multidimensionality and relationality of social exclusion. Mixed methods can help to achieve both the empowerment of immigrants as well as compare their individual voice to the group's experience.

Furthermore, in this research I rely more on interview data in discussion while the survey data is mainly used to provide general information and frame the commonalities. Scholars who propose two-way process from social exclusion theory suggest addressing immigrants' perceived discrimination and structural barriers as a way to tackle the invisible obstacles that disguise themselves from the surface. Standpoint theory emphasizes the validation of an individual's experience as a vital source of knowledge. Taking two theories highlighting the importance of individual's personal experience, I decided to rely on interview data for this research.

4.4 Ethical Considerations

One primary ethical consideration of this research is the confidentiality of the interviewees. The scale of the Chinese community in Saskatoon is relatively small, making social networks among the community members much less complicated than those in the metropolitans. While this type of network can facilitate connection among the community members, it also increases the risk of breaching confidentiality.

Several strategies are adopted to avoid breaching confidentiality. The confidentiality breach risk was explained explicitly to the participants to ensure they fully understand its possibility and potential outcomes before joining the research. All interviewees were recorded anonymously and coded by alphabets that are irrelevant to their names. Every transcript and audio recording is stored separately from the participants' consent forms. During the entire interview process, participants' reasonable requests were assured, including stopping the interview and recording when they asked and destroying the records, transcripts, and consent forms when the interviewees indicated the personal will to withdraw from the research.

Another ethical consideration is the relationship between the researcher and the participants. As stated in the introduction, I have multiple identities in this research: an observer, a sociological researcher, and a female member of the Chinese community of Saskatoon in her 20s. The participants felt an involuntary closeness and trust because of my identity as a community insider, and the relationship boundaries between me as a researcher and them as the participants became indistinct. Although I established my identity as a researcher clearly at the beginning of the interviews and reminded the interviewees of this identity during the processes, the outcomes of doing this are complicated. Distancing myself could reduce the possibility that participants would underestimate this research and think of it as something like "doing my niece a favor by helping with her 'no-big-deal' school project." However, at the same time, it could also lower the participants' trust and inhibit them from sharing their personal experiences. The degree to which I should distance myself from the participants was a challenging ethical consideration that troubled me throughout the research process. My solution was to adjust the distance for each interview based on the preference of the interviewees.

CHAPTER 5: SURVEYS RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the results of survey, mainly descriptive data, and attempts to frame the general commonalities of Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon as well as to answer the first two research questions: the current situation of Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon in terms of their occupational attainment and the difficulties they encounter during job hunting and daily working. The survey data also offer partial answer to research question 3, whether Chinese immigrants encounter racial discrimination, and question 4, whether gender plays a role in the process of integration with whether women facing different challenges relative to men. In this chapter, two-way process perspective is the main theoretical tool used to interpret the results.

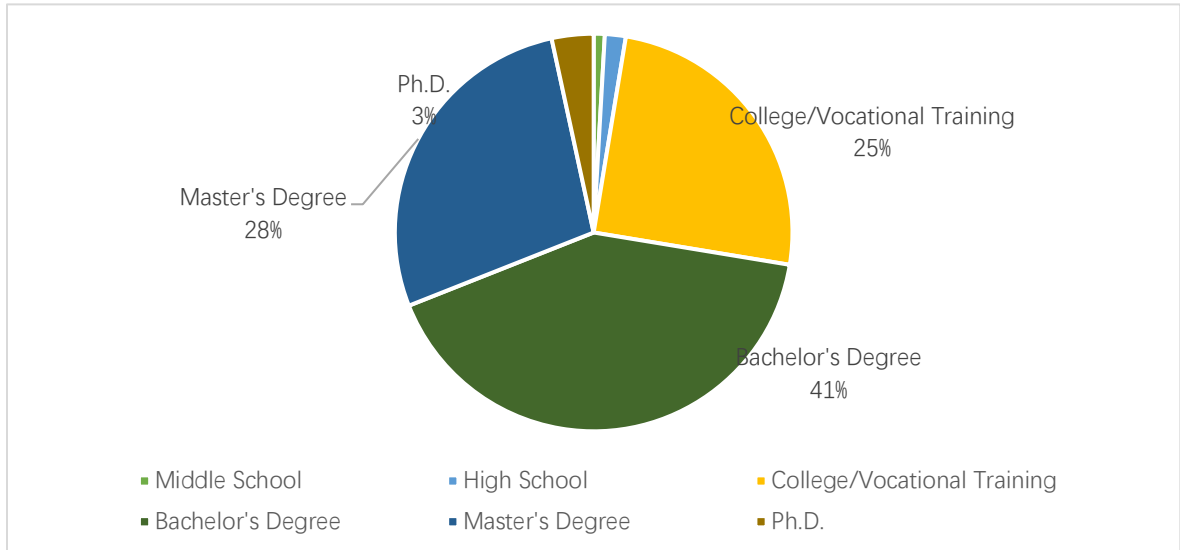
5.1 General Portrait of Chinese Immigrants in Saskatoon

Of the 116 valid respondents, about 63% of them are female (73). The most frequent age range is 45 to 54, which make up 41% of the respondents. This is followed by 35 to 44 (31%), and 25 to 34 which makes up 17% percent. The number of young adults aged 18 to 24 is 3 respondents or 2.6%, adults aged 55 to 64 is 6 respondents or 5.2% and above 65 years old is 3 respondents or 2.6% are relatively small. About 82% of them are married and 80% have children. Most of them arrived in the most recent decade (2008-2018), which makes up 93% of the respondents. Among them, 65% arrived in the latest five years. Apart from highlighted percentages, 4% of respondents arrived in 2019 and 3% of them arrived before 2008.

As for the education aspect, majority of the respondents have above high school level education (see Graph 5.1). About 72% of them reported having a bachelor's degree or above. Forty-one percent (41%) of them have a bachelor's degree, follows by 27% of master's degree, and about 3% Ph.D. degree. Additionally, 25% of the respondents have a degree from a college or vocational training. Only 3% have high school or less level of education. However, more than half of respondents (59%) completed their education in China and did not have any formal education in Canada. About 8.6% have a bachelor's degree from Canada, 13% have a master's degree and

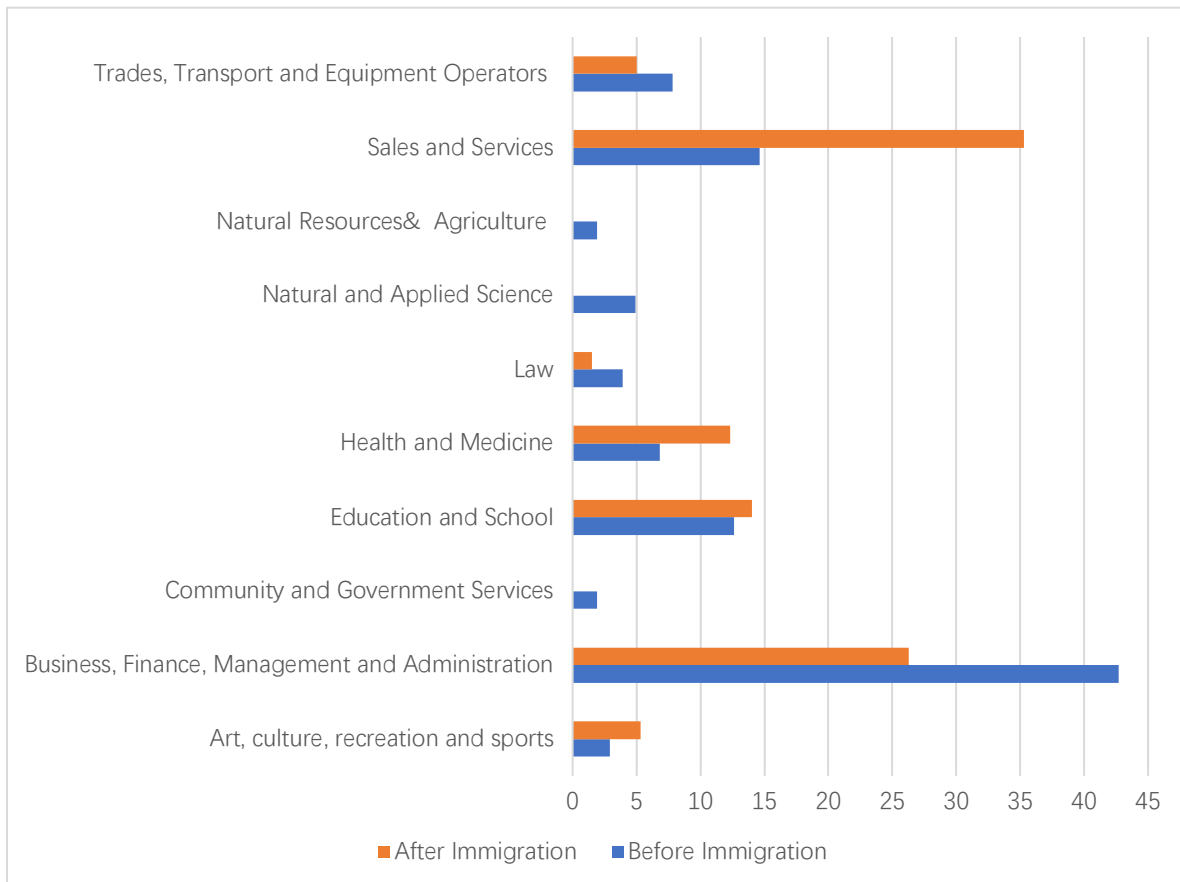
2.6% have a Ph.D. degree. Moreover, about 10% of the respondents reported they are taking or had taken language courses such as ESL.

**Graph 5.1 Chinese Immigrants' Highest Level of Education*



In terms of occupational attainment, results are divided into before immigration and after immigration. As graph 2 below shows, before immigration, 89% of the respondents had a job, and 94% of them worked full-time. The most common working field before immigration is business, finance, management and administration with 43% of respondents in these fields. The second most common working field is sales and service, which consists of 15%. Education and school rank is the third common field (12%), followed by trades, transport and equipment operators (8%), health and medicine (7%), natural and applied science (5%), law (4%), art, culture, recreation and sport (3%), community and government services (1.5%), and natural resources, agriculture and related production occupations (1.5%).

**Graph 5.2 Chinese Immigrants' Working Fields Comparisons*



When asked about how well they think their previous job matched their knowledge, education and skills, 17.5% indicated that their jobs perfectly matched their education. More than half of the respondents (51.5%) said their jobs mostly matched their education. Twenty percent (20%) felt their jobs somewhat matched their education and skills. About 7% of respondents said their jobs remotely matched their education and only 4% think their previous job in China did not match their education, knowledge and skills.

Before immigration, the most frequent annual income range is 15,000 to 29,999 Canadian dollars (26%). The second most frequent is 30,000 to 49,999 (24%), and the third is 50,000 to 74,999 (22%). These three ranges make up about 73% of respondents. About 9% earned 100,000 to 150,000 Canadian dollars per year. Range of 75,000 to 99,999 and over 150,000 have the same proportion of 4%. Only 11% of respondents earn less than 15,000 Canadian dollars before they came to Canada.

When it comes to the satisfaction with their previous jobs before immigration, over half of the respondents indicated positive attitude. About 71% of respondents showed positive satisfaction about their previous job: 18.5% were very satisfied, 52.5% were satisfied with their old job. Around 27% of respondents felt neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. Only 2% of respondents were dissatisfied with their previous jobs in China. Approximately 60% of respondents were positive about their previous annual income: 8% were very satisfied and 51% were satisfied, 33% were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. About 8% of respondents were dissatisfied with their previous annual income. No one was very dissatisfied with their previous job or annual income.

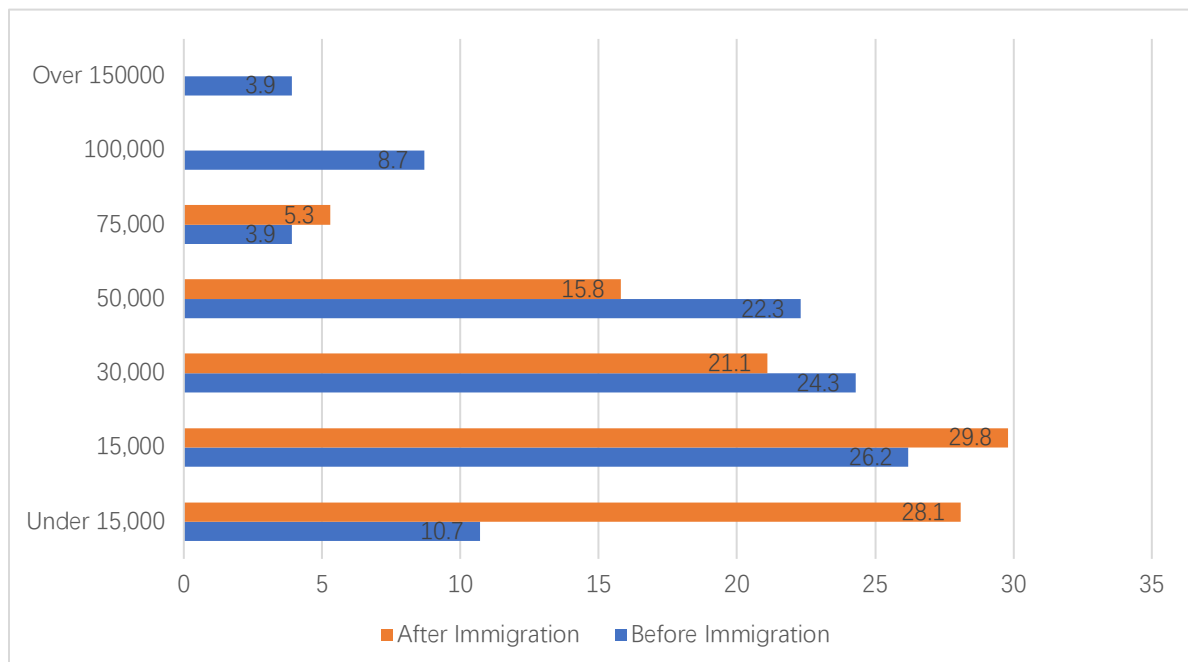
The situation changed significantly after they migrated to Canada. Only 49% of the respondents currently have jobs. Full-time proportion dropped to 67% while part-time rose from 6% to 33%. The most common working field is sales and services with 35% of the respondents currently working in this field. Business, finance, management and administration ranks in second place (26.3%). Education and school remain the third and has similar proportion (14%). Health and medicine rose up becoming the fourth most common working place (12.3%). Fields of art, culture, recreation and sports have the same proportion (5.3%) with trades, transport and equipment operators. No one is currently working in the fields of community and government service, natural and applied science or natural resources, agriculture and related production occupations.

When asked about how well they think their current job matches their education, knowledge and skills, more people said their jobs matched their education less than before immigration. About 16% of the respondents felt their current job remotely matched their education and 11% think their job does not match their education at all. Only 11% of the respondents thought the match is perfect. Thirty-six percent (36%) think their current job mostly matches their education. This has decreased significantly compared to before migration with more than half of the respondents saying their previous job mostly matched their education.

Due to the shifts in the working fields and more people working part-time, current annual income proportions changed accordingly. While the range of \$15,000 to \$29,999 remains the most

frequent annual income range (30%), under \$15,000 now becomes the second most common range (28%). The third most common income range is \$30,000 to \$49,999 which makes up 21% of the respondents, followed by \$50,000 to \$74,999 earned by 16% of the respondents, and \$75,000 to \$99,999 for 5% of the respondents. Moreover, no one reported income in the range of more than \$100,000 or over \$150,000 Canadian dollars after their immigration to Canada (see Graph 5.3 below).

**Graph 5.3 Chinese Immigrants' Annual Income Comparison*



Satisfaction with current job also decreased relatively. Only about 9% of the respondents are very satisfied with their current job, followed by 35% who feel satisfied. More people do not feel positive about their job, including 47% who feel neither satisfied nor dissatisfied and 9% feeling dissatisfied. Satisfaction with current income changed significantly as well. Only 30% of the respondents now are feeling positive including 5% very satisfied and 25% satisfied, compared with about 60% of the respondents who were positive about their previous income. About 44% are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied and 26% feel dissatisfied with their current annual income.

For the respondents who are not currently working, they were asked about the reason(s) for their unemployment and whether they were satisfied with staying home. The most common reason for their unemployment is language barrier. Staying home to take care of child(ren) ranks the

second most common reason. Beside personal issues, being unable to find a job that matches their credentials and unable to find a job with an acceptable wage were selected as third and fifth most common reasons by the respondents. Only about 7% of the respondents who are not currently working are satisfied with their unemployment and staying at home.

Language barrier also is selected as the most challenging obstacle during job hunting and daily work. During the job hunting, the second most challenging difficulty was inability to find a job that matched their credentials and skills, followed by credential not being recognized as the third place. Cultural difference, which entails different norms that the respondents find hard to follow, rank the fourth most challenging difficulty during the job-hunting. During the daily work, cultural difference highlighted as the third most challenging obstacle to the respondents, behind the low wage as the second.

When asked about their experience with discrimination, only 28% of the respondents who had job hunting experience thought they experienced discriminated because of their ethnic identity as Chinese immigrant during job-hunting. About 49% felt being discriminated against in current daily working. Most of them felt that the discriminatory behaviors that they experienced were not serious or obvious, but they did feel it (58% in job-hunting and 75% in daily working). The most common way they felt being discriminated against was through non-obvious facial expressions, gestures, and body language. Significant unfair treatment compared to other ethnic colleagues was the second most common way. Serious and obvious discrimination, such as obvious facial expressions, gestures, and body language, as well as, explicit verbal expression, were rarely mentioned by the respondents.

5.2 Applying Two-Way Process Perspective

In this section, two-way process perspective is applied in the interpretation of the results and used to answer research questions 1 and 2, and partially to question 3 and 4.

5.2.1 Occupational Attainment and Major Difficulties

Survey data presents a clear picture of the respondents: most in their middle ages, highly educated, had full-time jobs that matched their education, and had decent income before their immigration. The situation changed significantly after they came to Canada. Half of them now do not have a job. Among those who currently have jobs, one-third of them work part-time. More people work in the fields that match less or do not match their education and skills. They have less income and are less satisfied with their jobs and income compared to before immigration. Applying two-way process perspective to analyze the causes that lead to this significant change should be from both individual side and structural side.

From individual side, language barrier is a critical factor. Many previous studies (see Statistics Canada 2005; Wong and Wong 2006; Lebrun 2012; Derwing and Waugh 2012; Guo 2013) have pointed out language barrier as one of the crucial obstacles that immigrants face during their integration. The survey results of this research echo the previous studies by displaying that inability to have adequate command of English or French very frequently is the most challenging difficulty for Chinese immigrants during job hunting and daily work. This might explain why fewer respondents are working in fields that require high level of fluency in English, such as law, as well as community and government services, while more people work in fields like sales that have less strict requirement of language ability.

To overcome this personal obstacle, Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon take action by enrolling in language courses. Some of them go back to school to attain Canadian credentials and experience while immersing themselves in school life and, more importantly, into culture and ideology of the mainstream society. Besides the survey data itself, the places where I collected most of the survey, local Chinese community non-profit organizations and free lectures they hosted,

also show that Chinese immigrants are active in improving their language skills and promoting their own integration. These organizations are led by immigrants, who have been in Canada for at least, four or five years. Their aim is to provide networks and useful information, such as workplace culture in Canada, education system, and tax information to newcomers. They also occasionally provide free English lectures that include both common phrases used in daily life and terminologies in certain working fields and circumstances. By attending these lectures, Chinese immigrants also try to overcome the obstacles that come from cultural differences. On individual level, immigrants and local immigrants' organizations duly notice language barrier as one of the most challenging and crucial factors in the process of integration. They are taking active actions to overcome such barriers.

Nevertheless, without a doubt, personal obstacles cannot explain entirely why half of the respondents are unable to find a job. The devaluation of their foreign credentials and non-recognition of their working experience are other significant obstacles reported by the respondents. Survey data suggests that there is no correlation between immigrants' highest education level and whether they currently have a job ($r=-.020$, $p=.833$). Respondents' highest education level that they completed in China is neither correlated to whether they currently have a job ($r=.113$, $p=.228$). This result provides empirical evidence to existing studies' argument that indicate current Chinese immigrants are facing a dilemma of credential devaluation or non-recognition. The foreign credentials and working experience that enabled their entry into Canada lose value or not recognized when seeking jobs in Canada. This trend makes getting Canadian experience harder. At the same time, lack of Canadian education and credentials further limits their opportunities to find professional jobs, which often requires such experience (Somerville and Walsworth 2010; Grenier and Li 2011; Wang, Zong and Li 2012). This vicious cycle often ends up pushing Chinese immigrants out of the mainstream labor market, especially professional fields, and restricts them to ethnic businesses, which have limited market, or to jobs that offer low wages and do not match their education and skills. This type of systematic and institutionalized obstacle is beyond one's control to solve.

5.2.2 Discrimination against Chinese Immigrants

When asked about being discriminated because of their ethnicity as Chinese, more than half of the respondents said that they did not experience discrimination in job hunting and daily working. On the one hand, 72% of the respondents did not think they were discriminated against because of their immigrant status, while, on the other hand, one-third of them reported that they experienced structural barriers, such as devaluation and non-recognition of their credentials. These two results appear to contradict each other, but I would like to argue that they, in fact, imply subtlety of structural barriers and new racism. Due to legislation of multiculturalism, overt discrimination is not tolerated. Explicitly saying, “we don’t want Chinese to work for us” is no longer acceptable. However, the policy “we prefer Canadian educated people with Canadian working experience” sounds better, despite the fact that it means the same thing as not wanting foreigners to come and work in Canada. This subtle way of expression not only disguises its racial discriminatory core but also blames immigrants’ unemployment and underemployment on their own fault for not having Canadian education and working experience.

Certainly, making education and working experience as references in Canada's immigration policy has its rationale when the limited social resource is concerned. However, this type of thinking is the result of a failure of imagination because it puts native-born Canadians and immigrants on the circumstance that they can only deprive each other. In reality, different groups of Canadians should be able to prosper together. The fact that immigration policies always put native-born Canadians' well-being in priority also results in many mandatory requirements that are rigid and inhumane. Some of the mandatory requirements, such as Canadian education background and working experience, push a considerable number of immigrants out of the mainstream labor market and cause significant brain waste.

Survey also presents another intriguing result: more respondents feel being discriminated against during daily work than in job hunting. This result could be due to the fact that as immigrants enter the mainstream labor market and interact with native-born Canadians on a daily basis, they have increased chances of encountering the covert racism that exists pervasively in systems,

institutions, culture, and ideology. Unlike during job hunting, immigrants' primary goal is to find a job in order to make a living, which leads them to pay less attention to hidden racism. Once they gain a job and start to live in the environment that is built up based on institutionalized and structuralized racism, they gradually realize there is an invisible "wall" that distinguishes them from native-born Canadians. This could explain why more respondents report discrimination they experienced is expressed through non-obvious ways than obvious and explicit ways in daily work.

5.2.3 Does Gender Play an Important Role?

To find answers to research question #4 whether gender plays an important role in the process of Chinese immigrants' integration, and whether women face different challenges compared to their male counterparts, I ran several chi-square tests and Pearson correlations to test the relations between gender and occupational attainment.

The results suggest there is no statistically significant association between: gender and the respondents' propensity to attain a job (Pearson Chi-Square test statistic=.002, $p=.96$); gender and field of work (Pearson Chi-Square test statistic=10.1, $p=.12$). There is also no correlation between gender and income (Pearson Correlation=.168, $p=.212$). However, there is a statistically significant association between gender and part-time or full-time work. P-value of Pearson Chi-Square test is 0.004, indicating there is a statistical significance in the relationship between these two variables. When I recoded gender as a dummy variable in which male is indicated as the omitted category, the Pearson Correlation result indicated that there is a moderate positive correlation ($r=.386$) between being female and working part time. P value is 0.003 reflecting this correlation is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. This result shows that women are more likely to work part-time after their immigration to Canada.

When it comes to reasons for unemployment, there are some gender differences. For male respondents, the main causes of their unemployment are language barrier and credential devaluation. For female respondents, there are two additional to language barrier that differentiate them from their male counterparts. They are: i. staying home to take care of children and ii.

partner's income, which is perceived as sufficient to support the family. These findings echo those in existing studies, which suggest that upon arrival, women are more likely to stay home to take care of children and maintain the stability of the marriage and family (Zhou 2000; Yu 2011; Man 2011; Yu 2015).

CHAPTER 6: INTERVIEWS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the results of interviews and attempts to provide answers to research questions, particularly questions 3 and 4 on whether Chinese immigrants experience racial discrimination, how they deal with it, and whether women face different challenges. Through thematic content analysis, I generated several themes to give more detailed information and evidence to picture Chinese immigrants' occupational attainment, their experience in job hunting and daily working, and their encounter with covert racial discrimination through a gendered lens. While all three theoretical tools are included in the analysis, standpoint theory and intersectionality are applied as the relatively leading tool.

6.1 Key Themes in the Interviews

In this section, I introduce six key themes that arise from the nine interviews. The themes include i. Personal barriers (language/accent and cultural difference), ii. "Uncomfortable experience" of racial discrimination experienced by the interviewees, iii. the Environment, iv. Human agency, and v. Gender, vi. Location Saskatoon: specific characteristics that influence immigrants' future plans.

6.1.1 Language and Cultural Difference

Like language barrier is one of the most crucial factors influencing the experience of job hunting and daily working indicated by survey data, all interviewees mentioned language barrier is an important factor in their own experience. For example, interviewee #8 mentioned that she is familiar with frequently used terms and phrases that are specific to her working field, but besides them, how to use the common language to make small talks with her native-born colleagues and customers is difficult to her. "Language barrier could further prevent immigrants' promotion," she said, "because it is hard to communicate in-depth with our manager and superior to show them our comprehensive abilities. I have many thoughts and ideas I wish to express, but I was unable to do

so because of the language barrier.” The culture behind the language and the way of expression, she thinks, is difficult for first-generation immigrants to fully understand unless they spend a long time living in here.

Some interviewees suggest language issue can be a determinate element for hiring. Interviewee #3 and her husband own a restaurant. All staffs they hired to work in the restaurant are Chinese, except for the Waitresses who are all white native-born Canadians.

I think in the service business, it is difficult for us, Chinese to understand foreigners’ (Canadian) culture. Especially when I am communicating with them, they try to make jokes, but I do not understand at all. This is our cultural differences. This is the limitation of our language ability. I hired many Chinese Waitresses before. It is not easy to find a very good one to make these (Canadian) customers happy. If you compare our Chinese restaurants to those local restaurants, you will find their Waitresses are to very different from ours. So, in a situation like this, you will want to have white people to support part of your services (Interviewee #3).

Interviewee #4 suggested that language is one of the important reasons why many Chinese immigrants first landed Saskatoon, stayed for a few years and moved to other cities, usually Toronto, Vancouver and Calgary. “I think language is a big problem,” she says, “If you cannot speak English fluently, you either do nothing or only do things with Chinese. But, there are not as many Chinese here as are in Toronto or Vancouver. Less proficient English ability sometimes causes inconvenience in daily life and work.”

During the interviews, language factor was often mentioned along with cultural differences as barriers. Interviewees suggested that it is because of language barrier that there is difficulty for many of them to understand the culture entailed in the language. Many of them try to overcome this cultural difference obstacle by actively participating in activities organized by the local non-profit organizations such as Saskatoon Open Door Society, International Women of Saskatoon, and local Chinese community organizations like the Happy Life Group. Nevertheless, they all realize that it will take a number of years to deal with language issues and cultural differences.

6.1.2 The “Uncomfortable Experience”

Unlike what survey data suggests that the majority of the respondents do not think they are discriminated against because of their identity as Chinese immigrants, interview data suggests an intriguingly different result: all nine interviewees acknowledged the existence of discrimination and different treatment. However, many of them prefer to avoid using terms like “racial discrimination” or “racism” which they think are somehow too strong or severe. “Uncomfortable experience” is the most common term they use to replace “racism” and “discrimination.”

Many of them feel uncomfortable when they are treated differently. For example, interviewee #7 mentioned how she felt when treated differently by her direct manager.

At the time they hired me, they also hired another two girls. I was the only Chinese, the two other girls are white. One of them is an international graduate student from some European country. The other is an immigrant from an eastern European country, but she is married to a white guy in Saskatoon and stayed here for over seven years. My manager prefers talking to the married girl because she stays here the longest, knows the culture and does not have a strong accent.

Interviewee #8 mentioned a similar differential treatment when she talked about her job-hunting experience.

Sometimes, they (interviewers) treat us differently. Like they can chitchat with white applicants at the beginning or at the end of the interview. When it comes to my turn, they become very serious and skip small talks. I am not saying they should not be serious or anything, after all, it is a job interview. I do not know if this counts as discrimination. But how they treat me is clearly different from how they treat those white applicants.

Even if the interviewees see the different treatment and do not feel comfortable with it, they suggest that such cases are rare because the companies and institutions that they work for have policies and regulations against racial discrimination.

Three interviewees received their post-secondary education in Canada and have work experience in educational institutions. They happen to agree on one point: colleagues and superiors usually are not the ones who discriminate or display prejudice; it is the young students who were born and raised in Canada that show do so. For instance, interviewee #9 mentioned her experience of being ignored and treated differently by her native-born classmates during her undergraduate

years. Due to her major, which is not popular among Chinese international students, she had many chances to work with Canadian students in group projects and assignments and they were not pleasant experiences:

For most of the time during our discussion, they all talked way too fast and I kept failing to interrupt or even put in a word. Sometimes I had a rare chance to speak and I got nervous, that made me not to speak fluently, and it got really quiet... No one even tried to interact with me or tried to understand what I said. Later, when my English got better, I found out that they often tended to ignore what I said or pretend to listen but not really. Because, after I said something, no one made any comments. But a white student later said almost exactly the same ideas, the rest would agree with what he said and praised him for coming up with great ideas. Many times, like this, I got angry and felt treated unfairly. But I also felt that I could not do anything about it. Because it appears to be that they gave me a chance to speak so I could accuse them of discrimination or not being inclusive. However, that was exactly what they did. They discriminated against me by ignoring what I said. My words and voice did not count.

Interviewee #5 offered her experience of being a research coach in the university. When it came to topics of immigration, race and ethnicity, some of her students made inappropriate arguments. "Some students chose to do presentations on Canadian immigration policies. They showed videos that had discriminatory contents against immigrants, and made some weird arguments, such as 'immigrants paid the price.' This made me uncomfortable. Some even said things like white women are afraid of black men. I did not know why they would ever say things like these." She says she also suggested that these cases happened only occasionally.

All interviewees were careful with words and the ways of expression when they talked about racism and discrimination. Not only did they try to avoid using terms such as "racial discrimination" or "racism", they also suggested sometimes that they did not know whether their experience of being treated differently could be considered as racism or discrimination. To them, these terms seemed to be a little bit too severe to describe those subtle attitude changes and facial expressions towards them. Moreover, they all emphasized that what they experienced were rare or "Not all people are bad, and maybe it was just their bad luck to bump into someone who is bad."

6.1.3 Environment

The working environment is a particular theme I would like to pay attention. Different working places can lead to significantly different treatment of immigrants. This theme is especially related to the case of interviewee #3. Besides the Asian cuisine restaurant that she and her husband own, she also holds a teaching assistant position and worked in several departments part-timely in a university at the same time. She suggests that while working at university, she hardly ever encounters discrimination against her Chinese immigrant identity. Her colleagues and superiors were friendly and willing to take her opinions and suggestion into consideration. She feels welcomed, encouraged and included when she is working at the university.

Working in the restaurant is a completely different story as discriminatory behavior is so frequent, that she is used to being treated differently.

Customers, for sure (she emphasizes), discriminate our “foreign” restaurant. Let me give you a simple instance, if you have ever been to any western restaurant, you can wait for a hamburger for 40 minutes, but nobody complains about it. But, if it’s in our restaurant, it will only take customers 15 minutes to come to the front desk and complain about our service being too slow. Then they will ask me not to charge their meals or give them a discount. If I do not give what they want... Of course, I am not saying all customers behave this way, but some of them later will post negative comments online or give one star on Yelp saying our food is terrible or not fresh which is not true. They say that only because I did not grant their unreasonable request.

Of course, customers like them are rare, but I have to say how they treat us and our restaurants are clearly different from how they treat western restaurants. They see you differently. However, I think this is *normal*. All foreigners’ restaurants, as far as I know, owners of these restaurants have similar experiences.

.....I think why they treat us differently is only because they look down upon us, look down upon Chinese immigrants and even all international immigrants. I know an owner who is from India also had similar experiences. They consider us, that is, Chinese immigrants and our food as not “fancy” enough (Interviewee #3).

6.1.4 Human Agency

Emphasis on human agency is a key theme in the interviews. Despite their experience of differential treatment and discrimination, all interviewees suggest it is important to do the best they can first, instead of considering if other people or the society treat them equally.

Interviewee #3 mentioned that when some customers cannot be picky about the food or the service, they start to complain about the dining environment by pointing at the curtains on the windows at the corner not clean enough and even filing complain to the health department. The fact remains that she cleans that curtain every week after any event. She thinks the way to reduce the unfair judgement is to do everything to the best and leave nowhere for people to criticize.

Interviewee #4, who owns a photograph business, had a similar experience. “I think the reason why they treat us differently is because they do not know us well. Maybe it will be better after a few more years when they get to know you. Before that, I think all I need is to make the best of my job.”

“Nobody will be picky if you do your best on the job” says Interviewee #6, who owns a barber’s shop. “I think those Chinese immigrants face criticism only because they do not provide the best service. I never get criticized.”

Those who do not own their own business and work for companies and institutions, they also agree with the emphasis on human agency and individual effort. “I think gold shines everywhere. If you truly want to do something, you always can. I know the environment is important, but one’s effort is more important,” says interviewee #7.

However, despite their emphasis on personal effort, there are some barriers, which they cannot overcome. Even though interviewee #4 believes that the longer their family stays and do their best, they will have more native-born clientele. However, interviewee #4’s photography business is limited to the Chinese community and largely rely on Chinese immigrant customers. So is interviewee #6’s barbershop. Interviewee #7 has a brother who is also a Chinese immigrant who has lived in Saskatoon for many years. He used to work in a big mining and engineering company but when the company started downsizing, he was among the first group of workers to

be laid off. The former Landlord of interviewee #5, who is also a Chinese immigrant, had similar experience of working in the mining industry and being laid off and transferred to different cities several times before he finally got a stable job offer.

6.1.5 Does Gender Play an Important Role?

This study's research used a lens of critical feminist perspective to determine whether women have to face more challenges compared to their male counterparts and if so, what challenges existed. Interviews revealed firm positive answers to the above question and provided three points to the latter, which are multiple roles, lack of support networks and compromise of personal voices.

Seven out of nine interviewees have at least one child. Those who currently have a paid job indicated that they have to balance work and parental responsibilities. At the time when interviewee #3 gave birth to her first child, her husband was back to China to handle some family issues. She had to quit her position in the university to take care of her newborn baby and the restaurant. It was a very tough two years for her. "I had to take on so many roles, it was too challenging... My parents were not there either. I had almost no help for two years," she sighed.

Interviewee #5 is luckier for having her mother in-law come over from China to help her during and after the pregnancy. Yet, having a child changed her life in many ways.

I am afraid to make appointments with people now. Because I never know when my kid will get up in the morning and have a fever or red eyes that makes me cancel the appointment and take him to the hospital. Sometimes I will receive a phone call from the day care when I just arrive my workplace telling me my kid is sick. I have to leave work to go pick him up and go to hospital. ...It can be very challenging to immigrants, compared to natives who have relatives and family here. For them, when their kids get sick, they can call their parents or relatives to take care of the kids. Many of us do not have such support. You cannot ask for leave during your daily work to take care of your children too often. ...Sometimes, unconsciously you will go in the direction of traditional gender labor division. Husband works and wife stays home for the kids. We do not intend to do so, but we do not have any choice.

Lack of support networks is not only a problem to women who have children, but also to those without. Interviewee #7 suggests that when she had some issues of intimate relationship with

her husband, she tried to seek help from local Chinese community organizations. “They offered some help, which was different from the real psychological or emotional support that I was looking for,” she says. Furthermore, she mentioned that due to lack of support from close friends and family, some Chinese immigrant women she knows, stick with their husband. Lack of language ability keeps them from participating in labor market and lack of support networks restrains them at home.

Interviewee #2, #4 and #6 are three special cases. They are different in many ways: they are in different ages and working in different fields; #2 is a new immigrant who arrived two years ago, #4 has lived in Saskatoon more than five years, and #6 moved to Saskatoon five years but spent many years in Calgary before. But the interviewees have one similarity besides their ethnicity: interviewees’ voice is compromised or substituted by the voice of their husbands or the family. The interviews of #2 and #6 took place in their workplaces where they work with their husband side by side. When they were answering the questions, sometimes they asked their husband about the ideas or even let the husband answer for them. When I suggested I would like to hear more from them, they did not care for it. “He can represent the family and me.” or “What he said is what I want to say,” was their response.

Interviewee #4 was interviewed in her home and was interrupted several times because she was worried about her children who were running around in the house. Despite her husband’s presence in the house, he had nothing to do but play with his cellphone. She still had to take care of the children.

6.1.6 Saskatoon: A Whistle Stop or the Second Hometown?

Previous studies about Saskatoon Chinese immigrants suggest that here are some particularities that distinguish them from Chinese immigrants in other big cities, such as strong internal connections and diverse Chinese immigrant groups and organizations that meet newcomers’ different needs.

Interviews' results support these findings. Interviewee #2 says she and her husband got through the first four to six months upon their immediate arrival but it was a very tough period of time despite receiving support in many ways, including Chinese immigrants who have lived in Saskatoon for years, the local Chinese organizations and some local non-profit organizations. "The beginning was really hard because we had so many things to do. Like finding a place to live, the mean of transportation, child's school, and, more importantly, how to make a living." She said, "Things are so different in here relative to China, we would have been lost without help from the Chinese community." Since she and her husband did not have much Canadian experience, they currently run a business with another Chinese immigrant who had been living in Saskatoon for over two decades. "I think this is our natural bond. Even though we are not related or know each other for a long time, we trust and rely on each other just because we both are Chinese," she said, "And there are not many Chinese people in Saskatoon like in other cities, Toronto and Vancouver, for example. The community of Chinese immigrants is not very big, but this is why I like it here. People know and take care of each other. You cannot do bad things because everyone will know your 'fame' very soon."

One feature that is not included in previous studies emerges in the interviews: high mobility among Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon. By mobility, I mean the ability to leave Saskatoon and move to another city in Canada or move back to China. All interviewees suggest they know at least three or more Chinese immigrant families that have come and gone. Some of them lived in Saskatoon for two or three years, then moved to bigger cities to find better job or business opportunities, as well as better educational opportunities for their children. Saskatoon, then, becomes a transit station or a whistle stop where some immigrants only stay for a short period time.

Interviewee #3, #8 and #9 stated clearly in their interviews that they would leave town to another city in Canada for better job and better education of their children.

I think, for now, Saskatoon is a good place for us to stay, because my child is very young. But, when she gets older, she gets more curious and wishes to explore as many things as she can. Then I will take her to a bigger city such as Vancouver or elsewhere. I cannot stay here forever and just let her visit the little zoo here. ...Besides, my husband and I,

we are only in our thirties, we do not want to spend the rest of lives in this small town. (Interviewee #3)

Children's education is one of importance or even the most important thing to take into consideration when deciding to stay or leave. First generation immigrants like me, we do not have much Canadian experience. It is difficult for us to evaluate different benefits and costs among different places. Moving to bigger cities is an easier and straightforward choice. Staying at a small town makes limits your knowledge of where the hope is or where it ends. I am not saying small towns is bad. I know many Chinese immigrants love staying in Saskatoon and they do stay here for ten, twenty years. But bigger cities have more opportunities. (Interviewee #8)

There are also some Chinese immigrants who move back to China. "I know many people are moving back to China, because they run out of money. They have been here for a few years or even a few months, cannot find a job and spend all the money they have," says Interviewee #7. She continues, "My husband says that they are not unable to find a job, they are unable to find the job that matches their education. They still can work by washing dishes or waitressing in the restaurant but are just not willing to do those jobs. Moreover, it is not easy for them to go back to school and get a Canadian credential or diploma. Many of them are in their forties and not good at English."

Additionally, some interviewees suggest that the local markets and economy are not active like in bigger cities; it is not easy to have a business here. "It is hard to hire good employees here," says interviewee #3. "This is why many restaurants are closed and people are leaving. It is not that they do not want to stay here, they just can't." (Interviewee #3)

6.2 Applying Theoretical Tools

In this section, I apply both two-way process perspective from social exclusion theory and standpoint theory to argue the existence of structural barriers and covert racism that limit Chinese immigrants' full participation in the labor market and integration.

6.2.1 Racism in a Multicultural Society

The concept of multiculturalism in Canada can be interpreted in different ways: it is a sociological fact, a policy and an ideology. As a sociological fact, multiculturalism describes the current situation of Canadian society, which its citizens come from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. As a policy, multiculturalism refers to the management of diversity. And as an ideology, multiculturalism reflects a comparatively coherent sets of ideas and ideals associating with the celebration of cultural diversity in Canadian society (Dewing 2009). The 1988 Canadian Multiculturalism Act acknowledges multiculturalism as “a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity” and requires the government of Canada to ensure all individuals receive equal treatment regardless of their origins and assist them in the elimination of barriers in their participation in Canadian society.

However, from the results of this research, I would like to argue that there is a considerable gap between the principles of multiculturalism and its actual practices. Although many of the interviewees tried to emphasize their own agencies in discussing their newcomer difficulties, it became clear that the systematic barriers are much higher than they would acknowledge. Besides the restaurant owned by interviewee #3, other interviewees’ businesses are limited to the ethnic sector (Chinese community) in which their main customer sources are mostly Chinese, despite the pressing aspirations to expand their business and enter the mainstream market. Cultural differences and outgroup perceptions, which they think will be overcome as long as they stay longer and work hard enough, in fact, limit their potential to build social networks outside of the ethnic community hence further limit their future development of business.

Another example of the gap between the principles and practices of multiculturalism is in the experiences of interviewees had with native-born students in post-secondary institutions. Some researchers suggest there is a positive influence made by official endorsement of multiculturalism and multicultural education on predominant public values and attitudes towards the social and cultural diversity in Canada (Jedwab 2004; Taylor and Hoechsmann 2011). However, according to the interviewees, the native-born students who they encountered ignore international classmates

and sometimes even make “weird and uncomfortable” statements on immigration. This trend, I would like to argue, not only reflects the gap between multiculturalism’s principles and practices, but also reflects racism and Eurocentrism that is embedded in ideology and everyday practices. Ignoring is a way of exclusion and marginalizing international students in classes. “Weird and uncomfortable” statements are made based on their limited Eurocentric ideas.

The concepts of Eurocentrism can be various. In this thesis, I would like to refer it as a way of thinking that highlights the European culture and history and favors them over non-European ones. Such a notion can be applied to white or white-passing groups around the globe who are identified by society as having European heritage (Shohat and Stam 1994). As an ideological substratum that closely relates to colonialist, imperialist, and racist discourse, Eurocentrism bifurcates the world into “the West and the Rest,” and normalizes the hierarchical power relations generated by colonialism, imperialism and racism without centering these themes explicitly (Shohat and Stam 1994). Eurocentrism is naturalized, universalized and embedded in everyday life which, makes it often unnoticed.

The reason why the native-born students ignore and alienate their international classmates and make “weird and uncomfortable” statements about immigration, then, is clear: because they think and behave based on Eurocentrism that separates them from those come from different countries and do not have the same culture like them. Not only do they separate themselves from international classmates, they also judge, devalue, and make inaccurate assumption about the “exotic culture” of their classmates. Even though they appear to do no harm physically to their international classmates, the racist Eurocentric ideas they have unconsciously will be practiced in everyday life and create an environment that appears to be friendly and inclusive but rather marginalizing and excluding the international classmates.

Comparing the survey result where most of the respondents do not think they are discriminated against because of their ethnicity, most of the interviewees recognize being treated differently and had “uncomfortable” experiences. These two results appear to be contradictory to each other, but I argue that they reflect the same point, that is, the subtlety of new racism. As

suggested by previous studies, racism in contemporary Canada takes on a different appearance that looks gentle, non-prejudicial or non-discriminatory (Li 2001). “Cultural differences” is the term frequently mentioned in interviews. It is often considered by interviewees as the reason for their “uncomfortable experience” or being treated differently. This result, indeed, supports the idea that racism in contemporary times is less about biological differences but cultural differences (Wang, Zong and Li 2012).

Moreover, I think these contradictory results indicate naturalization and universalization of racism that has Eurocentrism in its core. Eurocentric racism is so pervasively embedded in everyday practices that it often becomes unnoticed. For example, language barrier is considered as the most challenging difficulty during job hunting and daily work for Chinese immigrants. Interviewees also mention that unable to speak English fluently or accent-free creates obstacles in their career progress and daily experience. The ability to speak native-speaker-sounding English overshadows other abilities and become a vital criterion, sometimes even the only criterion, here to determine whether immigrants are qualified for professional jobs. Chinese immigrants who cannot get rid of their accents are penalized by not being hired or unable to get promotions. However, because language usage is such a common practice, most Chinese immigrants may not realize their accents create an invisible barrier for them. Immigrants might feel uncomfortable because of those barriers while having a hard time diagnosing the problem. This kind of vague and uncertain feeling can be considered as one of the reasons for the discrepancies between the findings of the survey and interviews in terms of discrimination experiences as well. Because of naturalization and universalization of Eurocentrism, the manifestation of racism in Canadian society today becomes more subtle, disguised and hard to find out for immigrants. Without concrete evidence of discrimination, immigrants tend to neglect or avoid pointing out racism directly.

6.2.2 The Feeling of Otherness: Orientalism

Edward W. Said first established the term Orientalism in his book with the same name in 1978. By Orientalism, he means various things, primarily a way of “coming to terms the Orient

that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience (Said 1978: 34).” Orientalism also can mean an academic discourse, a style of thought, and a tool used by the West to dominate, restructure and have authority over the Orient. During the process of civilization, European history and culture gained power and identity by distinguishing itself from the Orient. The Orient, however, is not an inert fact of nature. Both geographical and cultural entities of the Orient and Occident are man-made.

Eurocentrism and Orientalism are like two sides of one coin. Both of them closely relate to racism and imperialism. Eurocentrism emphasizes on centering European culture while Orientalism represents the otherizing the Orient. From my understanding, both Eurocentrism and Orientalism bifurcate the world into two groups, the Occident and the Orient, or the West and the Rest, and construct an unequal power dynamic. Moreover, like Eurocentrism, Orientalism is not a genetic inheritance either. This leads to a particular situation that is people from the Orient can internalize and fulfill the images created by the Occident.

In this research, the interviewees all reveal a sense of otherness unconsciously during interviews. Even though all of them are legal citizens of Canada, they still have the feeling of being an outsider coming to a society that belongs to white people.

It is “their” (white people’s) society, not “ours” (Chinese immigrants). Since “we” came to “their” country, it is “our” responsibility to work harder to let “them” know and understand “us”, get “their” recognition and play with “their” rules.

This feeling of otherness, I would like to argue, is produced by Eurocentrism and Orientalism. Canadian society praises its multiculturalism and inclusiveness, meanwhile, it adopts one particular culture, European culture, as “authentic” and rewards those with such culture. This self-contradictory construction of society indeed leads to the marginalization of the “unauthentic” cultures and people with these cultures having a sense of otherness. Orientalism, like Eurocentrism, so pervasive that not only Chinese immigrants may not notice its existence, they also rationalize and internalize the discriminatory behaviors against them, and stereotypes based on inaccurate assumptions. This rationalization and internalization of racism is one of the reasons why Chinese

immigrants prefer not to use words like racism and discrimination. They consider the experiences of being treated differently as “normal” because this country is not their (Chinese immigrants) country, but a country belongs to “Canadians” (white people).

Orientalism also can be considered as another reason for different results of two data collection where most participants in the survey do not suggest they had discrimination experiences, but all the interviewees said differently. As mentioned in the previous section, Eurocentrism as one of the new covert racism’s cores is pervasively practiced daily and becomes normalized. As Eurocentrism’s “evil twin,” Orientalism has similar effects of alienating immigrants in the production and reproduction of social norms and ideology. Additionally, Orientalism further creates a sense of otherness, or a sense of outsiders, which leads immigrants to hide their uncomfortable feelings because they do not feel having the right to do so. Because “we are from other countries, and we should be thankful that this country took us in instead of complaining (Interviewee #6).”

The normalization and ubiquity of Orientalism lead immigrants to internalize and rationalize its existences, consciously or unconsciously, in order to live and function “normally” as the outsiders expected. They tend to only talk about being treated differently when they are given a chance to speak for themselves in the environment where they feel comfortable, safe and trustworthy. On many occasions, they cannot have substantial or specific evidence to prove being discriminated due to the subtle expression of racism, such as non-obvious facial expression and body language, or plausible explanations for different treatments, such as the preference of Canadian credentials in hiring. Unable to point out discrimination explicitly and being reminded of immigrant identity continuously force immigrants to not only normalize and internally rationalize racism but also blame themselves for being too sensitive and overthinking when they feel uncomfortable being treated differently.

Pointing out Chinese immigrants’ internalization of racism here is not to accuse them of not being as other groups of disadvantaged people. I believe it is essential to see things from immigrants’ standpoints. To most of them, what multiculturalism is not relevant to their lives.

Their priority is to survive and make a living. If playing the rules made by others and being treated differently is inevitable in this racialized society for them to achieve this priority, they will play alone. But it is not acceptable to take advantage of them.

All interviewees have a positive attitude that suggests their wish to integrate and emphasizes on their personal effort. Nevertheless, the current Canadian society does not adequately respond to their wishes. Integration is a two-way process that requires commitment on both sides: immigrants' personal effort and supportive attitudes and actions from Canadian society to welcome not only the newcomers but also their cultures (Kaushik and Drolet 2018).

6.2.3 Gender Does Matter

During the interviews, it becomes clear that Chinese immigrant women have different trajectories in their process of integration compared to their male counterparts. The intersectional effects created by their race, gender and culture challenge them in multidimensions on a daily basis differently. Interviewee #6 had a desirable full-time job in accounting before she migrated to Canada with her husband. After landing, she found that her accounting certificate was not recognized in Canada. She needed to go to a Canadian educational institution to study from the beginning if she wanted to practice accounting. By that time, she was pregnant with her daughter. She gave up on studying and chose to stay home to take care of her daughter. When the kid was old enough to go to kindergarten, she started to help her husband in the barber's shop that he owns. She does not know how to do the haircut for the customers. Most of her time in the barber shop is waiting. She waits for her husband to finish the work to pick up their daughter and drive them home. On the one hand, she believes it is a tradition that her husband is the breadwinner and she does the homemaking. On the other hand, she also wishes she can have her own job one day, which she believes provides the "real" meaning of her life.

Interviewee #6's experiences and thought of the "real" meaning of her life, I would like to suggest, is the intersectional effects of gender, race and culture of China. Instead of challenging the fundamental patriarchal ideology of Chinese society, the discourses of gender equality and

women liberation in China are limited to several specific focuses, including the value of work outside of the home. Despite the remarkable universal labor force participation of women in China, the value of domestic work is underestimated, and housewifery is viewed negatively (Zhou 2000; Yu 2011). This ideology continues to impact interviewee #6, even after she stays in Canada for a considerable period of time. Unable to fulfill the cultural gender role expectations leads to an internal conflict in her mentality.

The intersectional effects of gender, race and culture also impact interviewee #3 in a different way. She studied in Canadian educational institutions for a considerable time and can speak English fluently. This makes her get influenced by Canadian culture, such as individualism, more than Chinese culture. She took care of her child by herself without asking help from any member of extended family. She is aware of multiple roles that create tremendous difficulties for her; however, she indicates she will not quit and be a housewife. “Because I don’t think that creates meaning for me. I know it’s also difficult to be a good housewife. But it’s not for me. I need more than that,” she says, ambitiously. But taking on multiple roles and heavy loaded responsibilities with very few helps causes her great pressure. She has to juggle her job, the restaurant, her child and family constantly.

The intersectional effects of race, class, and gender also impact Chinese immigrant women’s experiences in Saskatoon in various ways, especially in occupational outcomes and occupational mobility respects. Because of credential devaluation, Chinese immigrant women, like most immigrants in general, cannot find jobs that match their education and working experiences, hence having less chance to get professional working experiences, which further limiting their opportunities to professional works. Those who can find a job are less likely to be promoted, let alone to the management positions. These obstacles limit their upward occupational mobility and, moreover, confine their upward social mobility.

Compared to their Canadian-born counterparts, Chinese immigrant women have to face more challenges, stress, and anxiety caused by their dependent identities. Many families follow the immigration pattern which the male member of the family, usually the husband, is the principal

applicant, and the rest members, usually the wife and the child(ren), come as his dependents, or migrate later after the principal applicant settled down in Canada through the family reunion category. This immigration pattern reflects, as well as enhances, the traditional gender role expectation that men are the provider of the family and women are supported by their husbands. With no attention of depreciating the value of unpaid domestic work, I have to point out that choosing not to work, or sacrificing the opportunities to work, puts Chinese immigrant women in a disadvantaged position. Because of the migration and their dependent status, Chinese immigrant women are more likely to lose the opportunities to achieve upward social mobility through their careers. Furthermore, because of losing one of the income sources, the family has fewer financial sources to realize upward social mobility.

Interviews also reflect some other difficulties that Chinese immigrant women have to face. As Lu and Zong (2017) suggested, the Chinese community in Saskatoon, unlike those in Toronto and Vancouver, has a loose network without strong leadership. Such structure has its advantage that members of the community are equal due to lack of power stratification. However, the absence of a concentrated physical area like a Chinatown and a representative voice to protect the community's interests also poses challenges to Chinese immigrants, especially women. While both male and female Chinese immigrants have to deal with the lack of belonging caused by the absence of the leadership and the physical area of the community, women tend to experience more negative impacts of it.

Due to migration, immigrants lost most of their social networks built in the home country. While immigrant men have more chances to build new networks because of working outsidess, women, especially staying home mothers, have much fewer chances to do so. In this research, most female participants suggest they often establish new social relationships with other parents, particularly mothers, whose children are their children's classmates or friends. This type of connection can help women form a relatively close relationship. Meanwhile, though, this network is based on interactions between families instead of individuals. In such networks, women are seen as someone's mother and someone's wife but herself. Unable to have an independent identity and

social networks outside of the family reinforces women's isolation and dependence on their husbands and family, which makes them more vulnerable to the potential risks. When troubles happen within the family and marriage, it becomes difficult for them to seek help. Friends of the family could only offer limited help because their connections are built on families' interactions. The idea of "do not meddle in other families' affairs" could prevent the family's friends from helping women because they do not want to be seen as taking sides.

Seeking help outside of the community is an even impossible choice. Because of their dependent status, many Chinese women have many limitations, including language ability and transportation means. In the interviews, interviewees mentioned that inconvenient public transportations in Saskatoon have a significant impact on their mobility. Many of them have to wait for their husbands to take them to go outside because one family often owns one vehicle, and men are the ones who know how to drive and drive most of the time. They also suggest public services outside the community certainly would not be the primary choice, not even secondary or third, if they have family issues. Lack of trust, limited language ability and a strong sense of otherness that differentiate themselves from mainstream society hold them back from seeking help.

The absence of physical community and leadership in Saskatoon makes Chinese immigrant women's vulnerability more invisible. There is no place that they feel trustworthy to meet new people, establish new relationships, find new working opportunities and get help, neither a representative voice to speak for them and protect their interests. There are several non-profit organizations led by Chinese immigrants that can provide help to immigrants to a certain degree. For instance, interviewee #7 said she got some help from the organizations when she had marriage issues with her husband, but the help was minimal.

Domestic works should be valued and staying home mothers should be respected and recognized for their contribution to the family. Nevertheless, I have to suggest that not working outside poses multiple negative impacts on their lives for immigrant women. Intersectional effects of race, gender, culture and class create a complex set of challenges to Chinese immigrant women. The absence of a physical community and a representative voice further reinforces their dependent

status and makes their vulnerability to be more invisible. Despite the fact that gender equality discourse in Canada recognizes and values domestic work of women, Chinese immigrant women in Saskatoon do not reflect a significant sign of being empowered. Moreover, they tend to feel caught in between their traditional cultural values and Canadian values.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION AND LIMITATION

This Chapter is divided into three parts. The first part summarizes the main findings from survey and interviews. The second part raises some limitations of this research. Thirdly, a final conclusion is at the end.

7.1 Main Findings Summary

The Survey in this research presents a clear picture of Chinese immigrants' current situation with occupation attainment. Less than half of the respondents currently have a job and about one third of them are working part time. The most common working sectors are sales and services and business, finance, management and administration. People who are working in these fields make up about sixty percentage of the respondents. About eighty percentage of the respondents earn less than 50,000 Canadian dollars every year, including 28% who earn less 15,000 Canadian dollars annually. Majority of them are highly educated: about seventy percentage of them have at least an undergraduate education. However, more than half of them are educated in China and do not have formal education in Canada.

Compared to their situation before immigrating to Canada, Chinese immigrants experience significant downward trend in occupational attainment. Half of them are currently unemployed and more people work part timely. For those who currently have a job, most of them think their current jobs have a weak connection to their education and skills. More people earn less every year. Satisfaction of job and income have decreased significantly.

The respondents consider language barrier as the most challenging obstacle during job hunting and daily work. It is also the reason why few respondents are working in fields that requires high level of frequency of English, such as law, as well as community and government services, and while more people work in fields like sales and services that have less strict requirement on language ability.

The respondents named their inability to find a job that matches their qualification or recognizes the foreign education and credentials they have as the second most challenging obstacle to employment. Survey data however showed no correlation between respondents' highest education level and their gainful employment. This indicates that Chinese immigrants encounter the devaluation and non-recognition of credential that is more likely a structural barrier and beyond their strength to overcome.

When being asked whether they feel being discriminated because of their identity as Chinese immigrant during job-hunting and daily work, less than 25% of the respondents reported they had/have such feeling. The most common way they feel being discriminated is through non-obvious facial expressions, gestures, and body language. The respondents rarely mentioned serious and obvious discrimination, such as obvious facial expressions, gestures, and body language, as well as explicit verbal expression. However, some respondents mentioned significant unfair treatment compared to other ethnic colleagues especially during job hunting.

Additionally, gender seems to play a less significant role according to survey data. The results suggest there is no statistically significant association between gender and respondents currently employment status as well as current working fields. There is no correlation between gender and income either. A moderate positive correlation ($r=.386$) was found between being female and working part time. P value is 0.003 reflecting this correlation is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. This result indicates that women are more likely to working part time after their immigration to Canada. There are some differences reason for unemployment based on gender. Women are more likely not to work because of staying at home to take care of children and family and partner's income being enough to support the family, while men are more likely unemployed because of language barrier and credential devaluation.

Interviews' result is different from survey data findings in the way that all interviewees suggested they have experienced being discriminated and treated differently. Although they tried not to use words such as "discrimination" and "racism" which they think are too strong, they could

not deny their “uncomfortable experiences”, the term they used to avoid saying discrimination and racism.

Language barriers and cultural differences were the major difficulties faced during daily work of the interviewees. They linked the two difficulties to their uncomfortable experiences and emphasis that their personal efforts could eventually overcome all the difficulties. Each of them was very careful about the words they used while talking about their experience of being discriminated and points out explicitly what they experienced can be very rare or specific to one bad case. But the fact that each of them mentioned own personal experience of being discriminated spontaneously just indicates discrimination against Chinese immigrants is not rare but prevailing.

Despite all the interviewees working hard to their fullest, covert racism that has Eurocentric values and knowledge as its core still prevented them from full participation in the labor market. The interviewees’ businesses are largely limited to the Chinese community whereby their main customers are also Chinese. Chinese immigrants are the first group of people to be fired when the companies start the downsizing. And the job offers that Chinese immigrants receive are more likely to be temporary. More importantly, credential devaluation and education-job mismatch are inevitable for them unless they have Canadian education which still does not guarantee equal job opportunity. Emphasis on human agency of individual and pervasive Eurocentrism and Orientalism together cause Chinese immigrants unconsciously internalize racism and develop a sense of otherness. Additionally, intersectional effects created by gender, race and culture lead Chinese immigrant women have different experiences and face multiple challenges.

Through interviews, it is clear that the bonding among Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon is strong and loose at the same time. The bonding is loose in the sense that there is no concentrated area where most Chinese immigrants live or have their businesses open. And it is strong because of Chinese immigrants’ self-recognition of their ethnic identity as Chinese. Having the same ethnicity and culture is like a “natural bond,” a term used by an interviewee, that draws Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon together. This creates a warm and friendly vibe within the community and its members.

7.2 Limitations of This Research

As with the majority of studies, this research is subjected to several limitations: the relatively small sample size, limitation in theoretical frameworks and researcher's bias.

The small sample size of the survey potentially affects the representativeness of the data results. Due to the mobility of Chinese immigrants and the lack of a concrete area of the community, it is difficult to reach a large number of participants who are qualified and willing to complete the survey within a limited period of time in the first place. This also led to a smaller potential interviewee population that has less diverse experience. For example, I planned to interview both those who are employed and those who are jobless. But there is hardly any respondent who report unemployed indicate that they want to be interviewed at the end of the survey. Eventually, among all nine qualified interviewees, only one of them is currently not working. This results in a lack of opinions and experiences from people who are out of jobs. In addition, female respondents made up about 63% of the survey population. This disproportion of gender, which is not what I intended to achieve in the survey, could reduce the significance of gender-related associations and correlations with factors, such as the correlation between gender and the working fields.

Theories adopted in this research have their limitations in terms of three theories require taking the voices and experiences of people without privilege into the center of the consideration. This could result in producing biased, self-evident and self-referenced analysis of this study. Moreover, these three theories could be criticized for being vague in concept and more likely methodologies or epistemologies than solid theories.

The researcher's bias should also be considered. My focus on racism and structural barriers and my position as both a researcher and a Chinese community member could lead to confirmation bias. Overestimating the effects of racism could happen because I tend to find correlations between immigrants' integration difficulties with racism, which does not necessarily exist. Confirmation bias could also affect my data interpretation, especially the interviews where all the interviewees avoid talking about racism directly and consider defining their experiences of being treated differently as racism is somehow "too serious." Personal barriers, such as lack of language ability,

could have a more significant impact on Chinese immigrants' experiences than structural barriers do.

Nonetheless, the limitations I stated above are not necessarily the weaknesses of this study. The theories I adopted facilitate my understanding and interpretation of the data. Centering on the personal experiences and voices of Chinese immigrants and immigrant women enables me to bring empirical evidence and points of view previously overlooked in the field. More importantly, these theories validate immigrants' experiences and perspectives as sources of knowledge. This is meaningful in a way that immigrants as minority groups have their voices and speak for themselves instead of being heard, represented or judged by scholars who are the majority, by the ones are not racial minorities with established credibility in the academic fields.

Moreover, I would consider utilizing my multiple positions in the analysis as a strength of this research than a limitation. Being both a researcher with theoretical and analytic tools and a member of the community I understand, interpret and express the experiences and perspectives of the participants in an academic way that either the scholars who are the outsiders of the community or the community members without Sociological background can do.

7.3 The Final Conclusion

In this research, I investigated Chinese immigrants' occupational attainment and experience of job hunting and daily work in Saskatoon. Adopting a two-way process perspective from social exclusion theory, standpoint theory and intersectionality, the core focus of this research is to find out i. the current situation of Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon in terms of their occupational attainment, and ii. if Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon experience racial discrimination during their job hunting and daily work a gender lens. Methodology for this research involved a mixed method approach that include a survey and a semi-structured interview.

Although this study focuses on occupational outcomes, it does not in any way devalue the significance of economic outcomes. Many researchers conduct insightful studies based on analysis of economic outcomes as a critical indicator, especially quantitative analysis of immigrants' social

integrations. Choosing occupational outcomes in this research is to make a relatively comprehensive study of Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon. Considering the current data of Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon is very limited, occupational outcome that covers more concepts is a more suitable indicator than economic outcome in this study.

Theories adopted in this research also require centering immigrants' personal experience and voice in the analysis. Evaluation of economic outcomes is often through statistically measurable variables such as income. Qualitative method and analysis could be difficult to carry out if economic outcome was the only indicator in this research.

Additionally, economic outcomes in this research only explain partially Chinese immigrants' experiences of discrimination and racism during job hunting and daily works. For example, many Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon have multiple financial resources, including investment in both Canada and China, which could lead to insignificant change or even an increase in economic outcomes after their migration. However, the unchanged or better economic outcome does not necessarily mean Chinese immigrants are not discriminated against and receive fair treatment. Occupational attainment can reduce such limitations in the analysis. The choice of focusing on occupational outcomes instead of economic outcomes is solely based on the perception that occupational outcomes can facilitate qualitative method and analysis of this research.

The findings of the survey data suggest that Chinese immigrants experience a significant downward shift in occupational attainment after migration. Language barrier and devaluation and non-recognition of their foreign credentials were the main causes of their current conditions. However, the majority of the respondents do not relate their difficulties to the discrimination and structural barriers. Only a few of them suggest they had discriminatory experiences which were expressed mainly in non-obvious ways. Explicit discrimination was rare, according to the survey data. Unlike the results of survey, all the interviewees indicate that they had experiences of being discriminated. At the same time, they all are cautious about the words they use to describe their experiences and the ways of expression. They tend to describe language barriers and cultural differences as "uncomfortable experiences" rather than classify them as discrimination and racism.

Although human agency and personal efforts could overcome the obstacles they encountered, prevailing covert racism limit their business and performance in the labor market.

Why Chinese immigrant women prefer to describe their experiences of discrimination as uncomfortable instead of racism can be interpreted in two levels, structural and individual. From the structural side, the covert racism embedded in everyday practices is difficult to detect. Universalized and naturalized Eurocentrism and Orientalism not only prevail in today's Canadian society, but they also contribute to the national identity and history of Canada. This makes them root in the country's foundation and ubiquitous in the system, structure, institutions, norms, and ideology. Because of multicultural policies, explicit racism is replaced by implicit racism, which is more subtle but equally, or even more pervasive. On the one side, multicultural policies contribute to promoting racial and ethnic equality within Canadian society. On the other hand, however, multicultural policies also provide spaces for covert racism to grow because of the vagueness and superficiality.

From the individual side, Chinese immigrants' experiences determine how they interpret uncomfortable experiences. Immigrants who were not educated in Canada and did not have much education about racism and multiculturalism in Canada are more likely to avoid using racism in their talking. They often have a vague idea about racism and tend to associate racism and racial behaviors to the extreme forms of them, such as racial segregation or genocide. Because of this type of idea and image association, some Chinese immigrants would try to avoid using racism and sometimes explicitly correct me during the interviews when I used this word by saying, "It is not that bad" or "That is just too far. It is not everyone doing this bad thing to me, so it is not racism."

Another reason that Chinese immigrants are not willing to talk about racism directly, to my best guess based on my observation, is the fear of potential consequences. Some participants became alert or concerned when they knew the information collected from them is used in this research and might be used in journal articles that will be publicly published in the future. Even though I ensured explicitly that their anonymity and confidentiality are strictly guaranteed, some participants were still very cautious about their verbal expression. They were worried about

expressing negative perspectives of the government and the country would bring harmful consequences to themselves and their families. This type of fear can be the result of a lack of leadership and the loose structure of Chinese community in Saskatoon which makes the participants have a weak sense of belonging and being supported by the community. The sense of otherness created by racism, especially Orientalism, as far as I am concerned, is another cause of immigrants' fear of talking about racism. Because of feeling themselves as the outsider of the society, immigrants do not think they have a say in the matter of racism in the society.

Multiculturalism in Canada, as far as I am concerned, is in a paradoxical state. On the one hand, multiculturalism is a societal fact in a way that various racial and ethnic groups coexist and have a certain degree of freedom practicing their own cultures in Canadian society today. The Canadian government also implements the Multiculturalism Act and other anti-racism policies to maintain equal rights and opportunities for its citizens from diverse ethnic backgrounds. Multiculturalism can also be considered as a political fact to a limited extent. On the other hand, there are still significant gaps between principles and the actual practices of multiculturalism. Subtle new racism based on cultural differences still prevents visible minorities from equally participating in social activities, including, but not limited to, labor market participation and cultural production and reproduction.

The partial success of multiculturalism in Canadian society makes aggressive racism much less acceptable. The norms and culture of Canadian society today, however, are still rooted in naturalized and universalized Eurocentrism and Orientalism. From the results of this research, structural barriers constituted by multicultural policies impact Chinese immigrants' integration in many ways. While some immigrants are hired because of multicultural policies' promise of equal rights for all citizens regardless of ethnic backgrounds, they are more likely the "decoration" of multiculturalism. Compared to native-born colleagues, Chinese immigrants are more possible to be offered temporary contracts, fewer opportunities to be promoted to a management position, and sometimes get alienated by colleagues simply because they cannot speak English without an accent. Multicultural policies admit Chinese immigrants migrate to Canada under the point system the

same as other ethnic groups. But these policies neither regulate the over-emphasis on Canadian education and working experiences of the Canadian labor market nor provide effective criteria and procedures to evaluate and transfer immigrants' foreign credentials and working experiences hence limit immigrants' equal access to jobs that match their ability.

Additionally, whether the current immigration policy itself is free of discrimination in all sorts is questionable. For example, Taylor (1991) points out that within the categories of Canadian immigration policies, the categories of entrepreneur and investment generate a new form of the head tax. Both categories require immigrants a certain amount of investment to establish a business that provides substantial jobs for Canadians or invest in education and training for immigration.

Multicultural policies removed explicit racism and create a relatively friendly and inclusive environment in Canadian society. Yet, for a multicultural and multi-ethnic society like Canada, participation is a more appropriate solution to the social exclusion of minorities than inclusion. The gap between the ideal principles and actual multiculturalism practices makes it a paradoxical combination of a superficial fact and an essential fiction.

As immigrant women increasingly participate in international migration, feminization of immigration is adopted progressively by scholars in associations with other gender-related issues, such as feminization of poverty (Boyd 2006), gendered labor immigration and labor market segregation (Piper and Yamanaka 2005; Labadie-Jackson 2009; Hofmann and Buckley 2013). For example, Ho (2006) suggested that Chinese immigrant women in Australia are not necessarily empowered or benefited from the gender roles re-negotiation within the family caused by migration. Instead, they often experience downward occupational mobility as they are more likely to work part-timely or give up working opportunities to fulfill household responsibilities.

This study reflects that Chinese immigrant women in Saskatoon share similar experiences as their counterparts in Australia. As more Chinese immigrant women participate in migration, gender discrimination in the labor market, however, seems not to be reduced by this increase. Survey data suggests a positive correlation between being a woman and working part-timely, which means Chinese immigrant women are more likely to have more flexible part-time jobs than

men after migration. Even women start a business with their partners, mostly their husbands, and work side by side with each other, women are much more likely to take on the supporting roles instead of being in charge.

Compared to the situation before migration, Chinese immigrant women in Saskatoon tend to be redirected from paid works, especially those that match their education and experiences, to the domestic sphere. Pointing out this shift does not intend to devalue domestic works and women's efforts. Nonetheless, gender division of labor becoming even more distinct towards the male-breadwinner/female-homemaker pattern among Chinese immigrant families after migration reinforces gender stereotypes and gender inequality.

Chinese immigrants and many Chinese non-profit organizations in Saskatoon are currently actively communicating with the mainstream society through cultural events. But, compared to Chinese communities in other bigger cities that have a longer history and a large population, Chinese community in Saskatoon is still young and developing. Lu and Zong (2017) suggest that the absence of an economic center in Saskatoon for the Chinese community leads to a loose structure of Chinese community and the absence of a strong and representative voice to protect and defend the rights and interests of the community. More than 60% of Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon arrived in the most recent decade, the period when harsh discriminatory laws were eliminated, and Canadian society appears to be more inclusive and diverse. The absence of a representative voice and the lack of activist culture can also be one of the reasons why Chinese in Saskatoon have a sense of otherness. Additionally, Chinese immigrant women in Saskatoon are affected more than men by such absence due to their more vulnerable dependent status.

For future study, I would like to recommend two things. Firstly, pay more attention to immigrants who live in the middle- and small-scale cities in Canada. As Guo (2013) suggests, there is currently a call for researchers to pay attention to middle- and small-scale cities immigrants. With the increasing flow of immigrants to middle and small-scale cities, they could have brought significant changes to local communities which are mostly overlooked. Additionally, comparing immigrants in different scale cities can also provide more knowledge on how the size of cities and

communities impact immigrants' experiences differently. In such comparisons, some essential factors, such as class, could show its significance in determining immigrants' social integration in different trajectories.

Secondly, the time of collecting data can be a crucial factor. Most data in this research was collected before the outbreak of COVID-19 in Canada. Before the pandemic, racism and Sinophobia were not that intense to be aware of by most people. After the pandemic, explicit discriminatory behaviors against Chinese immigrants become much more frequent and noticeable. It would be meaningful to make some comparative studies around the topics of the pandemic, Chinese immigrants, racism, and intersectional effects caused by these factors.

According to Collins' idea of the outsider within, black intellectuals, who are socialized into white intellectual academic life where blacks and women remain marginalized (Harding 2004), have a unique status as the outsider within. She encourages them to utilize this particular status to provide unique insights from their standpoint. Inspired by her idea, I attempted to use my status of the outsider within in this research to provide some insights from my standpoint of a Chinese researcher, a Chinese woman, and a member of Chinese community in Saskatoon. It is the attempt of utilizing concept of standpoint and intersectionality that helps me to make a comprehensive, I hope, analysis.

I will always remember when I asked whether they have experience of being discriminated, many immigrants looked at me and said, "I don't know if that is discrimination." This will be a reminder that keeps me being aware of my privileges of knowing and having a way of expression. I hope in this thesis, I have at least achieved having a voice for the kind, hardworking, and yet, unrewarded Chinese immigrants.

REFERENCE

- Abrams, Dominic, Julie Christian, and David Gordon, eds. 2008. *Multidisciplinary Handbook of Social Exclusion Research*. Chichester, England; Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
- Anthias, Floya, Nira Yuval-Davis and Harriet Cain. 1992. *Racialized Boundaries: Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Boyd, Monica. 1986. "Immigrant Women in Canada." Pp. 45-61 in *International Migration: The Female Experience* edited by R.J. Simon and C.B. Brettell. Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman & Allanheld.
- Boyd, Monica. 2006. "Women in International Migration: The Context of Exit and Entry for Empowerment and Exploitation." *UN Commission on the Status of Women fiftieth session New York* 27.
- Chiang, Frances, Angeline Low and Jock Collins, 2013. "Two Sets of Business Cards: Responses of Chinese Immigrant Women Entrepreneurs in Canada and Australia to Sexism and Racism." *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 5(2): 63–83.
- Chiswick, Barry R., Yew Liang Lee, and Paul W. Miller. 2003. "Patterns of Immigrant Occupational Attainment in a Longitudinal Survey." *International Migration* 41(4): 47-69.
- Chiswick, Barry R., Yew Liang Lee, and Paul W. Miller. 2005. "A Longitudinal Analysis of Immigrant Occupational Mobility: A Test of the Immigrant Assimilation Hypothesis." *International Migration Review* 39(2): 332–353
- Chow, Esther Ngan-Ling, Doris Wilkinson and Maxine Baca Zinn, eds. 1996. *Race, Class, and Gender: Common Bonds, Different Voices*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Chui, Tina, Kelly Tran, and John Flanders. 2005. "Chinese Canadians: Enriching the Cultural Mosaic." *Canadian Social Trend*. Spring 2005. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11-008: 25-32. Retrieved January 15, 2020. (<https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-008-x/2004004/article/7778-eng.pdf>).

- Chung, Angie. 2013. "From Caregivers to Caretakers: The Impact of Family Roles on Ethnicity Among Children of Korean and Chinese Immigrant Families." *Qualitative Sociology* 36(3): 279-302.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. 1990. "Black Feminist Thought in the Matrix of Domination." *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* 138: 221-238.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. 1997. "Comment on Hekman's 'Truth and Method: Feminist Standpoint Theory Revisited': Where's the Power?" *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 22(2): 375-381.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. 2002. *Black Feminist Thought Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. 2nd Ed. New York; London: Routledge.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. 2009. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. New York: Routledge Classics.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1989. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics." *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1989(1): 139-168.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43(6): 1241-1299.
- Derwing, Tracey, and Erin Waugh. 2012. "Language Skills and the Social Integration of Canada's Adult Immigrants." *IRPP Study* 31: 0_1-33.
- Dewing, Michael. 2009. "Canadian Multiculturalism." *Background Papers*. Library of Parliament Publication no. 2009-20-E. Retrieved July 23, 2020.
- Engstrand, Åsa-Karin and Jennie K. Larsson. 2015. "Intersectionality: Manifold Opportunities to Grasp the Complexities of Inequality." Pp. 119-139 in *International Migration and Ethnic Relations: Critical Perspectives*, edited by Magnus Dahlstedt and Anders Neergaard. New York, NY: Routledge.

- Esses, Victoria M., and Joerg Dietz. 2007. "PREJUDICE IN THE WORKPLACE: The Role of Bias Against Visible Minorities in the Devaluation of Immigrants' Foreign-Acquired Qualifications and Credentials." *Canadian Issues/Thèmes Canadiens* Spring2007: 114-118.
- Fleras, Augie. 2014. *Racisms in a Multicultural Canada: Paradoxes, Politics, and Resistance*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
- Government of Canada. 2017. "2017 Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration." Retrieved October 28, 2019 (<https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/annual-report-parliament-immigration-2017.html>).
- Government of Canada. 2020. "Multiculturalism." Retrieved July 20, 2020 (<https://www.canada.ca/en/services/culture/canadian-identity-society/multiculturalism.html>).
- Guo, Shibao, and Don DeVoretz. 2006. "The Changing Face of Chinese Immigrants in Canada." *Journal of International Migration and Integration / Revue De L'integration Et De La Migration Internationale* 7(3): 275-300.
- Guo, Shibao. 2013. "Economic Integration of Recent Chinese Immigrants in Canada's Second-Tier Cities: The Triple Glass Effect and Immigrants' Downward Social Mobility." *Canadian Ethnic Studies Journal* 45(3): 95–115.
- Grant, Peter R., and Shevaun Nadin. 2005. "The Difficulties Faced by Immigrants Facing Ongoing Credentialing Problems: A Social Psychological Analysis." 10th International Metropolis Conference, Toronto. Ontario.
- Green, David A. 1999. "Immigrant Occupational Attainment: Assimilation and Mobility over Time." *Journal of Labor Economics* 17 (1): 49-79.
- Grenier, Gilles, and Li Xue. 2011. "Canadian Immigrants' Access to a First Job in Their Intended Occupation." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 12 (3): 275–303.
- Harding, Sandra. 2004. *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader: Intellectual and Political Controversies*. New York: Routledge.

- Hekman, Susan. 1997. "Truth and Method: Feminist Standpoint Theory Revisited." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 22 (2): 341-65.
- Henry, Frances, Tim Rees, and Carol Tator. 2010. *The Colour of Democracy: Racism in Canadian Society*. Nelson Education.
- Ho, Christina. 2006 "Migration as Feminisation? Chinese Women's Experiences of Work and Family in Australia." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32(3): 497-514.
- Hofmann, Erin Trouth, and Cynthia J. Buckley. 2013. "Global Changes and Gendered Responses: The Feminization of Migration from Georgia." *International Migration Review* 47(2): 508-538.
- Hudon, Tamara. 2015. "Immigrant Women." *Women in Canada: A Gender-based Statistic Report*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-503-X. Retrieved January 15, 2020. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-503-x/2015001/article/14217-eng.pdf>
- Kaushik, Vibha, and Julie Drolet. 2018. "Settlement and Integration Needs of Skilled Immigrants in Canada." *Social Sciences* vol. 7(5): 76.
- Kokushkin, Maksim. 2014. "Standpoint Theory is Dead, Long Live Standpoint Theory! Why Standpoint Thinking Should be Embraced by Scholars Who do not Identify as Feminists?." *Journal of Arts and Humanities* 3(7): 8-20.
- Labadie-Jackson, Glenda. 2008. "Reflections on domestic work and the feminization of migration." *Campbell Law Review* 31: 67-90.
- Lamontagne, François. 2003. *Workers Educated Abroad: Seduction and Abandonment*. Canadian Labour and Business Centre. Ottawa: Canadian Labour and Business Centre. Retrieved January 15, 2020. (<http://en.copian.ca/library/research/clbc/seduction/03dec08.pdf>).
- Lebrun, Lydie A. 2012. "Effects of Length of Stay and Language Proficiency on Health Care Experiences among Immigrants in Canada and the United States." *Social Science & Medicine* 74(7): 1062-072.

- Li, Peter. "The Racial Subtext in Canada's Immigration Discourse." *Journal of International Migration and Integration / Revue De L'integration Et De La Migration Internationale* 2(1): 77-97.
- Lu, Yao, and Feng Hou. 2019. "Over-education Among University-educated Immigrants in Canada and the United States." *Analytical Studies Branch Research Paper Series*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11F0019M - No. 434. Retrieved January 2020.
(<https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11f0019m/11f0019m2019022-eng.pdf>).
- Lu, Ying, Ramanie Samaratunge, and Charmine Hartel. 2015. *Skilled Migration, Expectation and Reality: Chinese Professionals and the Global Labour Market*. Taylor & Francis Group, 2015. Retrieved January 2020.
(<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/usask/detail.action?docID=1869294>).
- Lu, Yixi, and Li Zong. 2017. "The Development of the Chinese Community in Saskatoon." *Canadian Ethnic Studies Journal* 49.3: 71-91.
- Kokushkin, Maksim. 2014. "Standpoint Theory is Dead, Long Live Standpoint Theory! Why Standpoint Thinking should be Embraced by Scholars Who do not Identify as Feminists?." *Journal of Arts and Humanities* 3(7): 8-20.
- Man, Guida, and Valerie Preston. 1999. "Employment experiences of Chinese immigrant women: An exploration of diversity." *Canadian Woman Studies* 19(3).
- Man, Guida. 2004. "Gender, Work and Migration: Deskillling Chinese Immigrant Women in Canada." *Women's Studies International Forum* 27, no. 2: 135-148.
- Maraj Grahame, Kamini. 2003. "For the Family: Asian Immigrant Women's Triple Day." *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare* 30(1): 65-90.
- Massaquoi, Notisha and Njoki Nathani Wane. 2007. *Theorizing Empowerment: Canadian Perspectives on Black Feminist Thought*. Toronto: Inanna Publications and Education.
- Piper, Nicola, and Keiko Yamanaka. 2005. "Feminized Migration in East and Southeast Asia: Policies, Actions and Empowerment." *UNRISD Occasional Paper* 11. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD). Geneva.

- Plano Clark, Vicki, John W. Creswell, Denise O'Neil Green, and Ronald J. Shope. 2010. "Mixing Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches: An Introduction to Emergent Mixed Methods Research." Pp. 363-387 in *Handbook of Emergent Methods*, edited by Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber and Patricia Leavy. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Preston, Valerie, and Guida Man. 1999. "Employment Experiences of Chinese Immigrant Women: An Exploration of Diversity." *Canadian Woman Studies* 19(3): 115-122.
- Richter, Miriam Verena. 2011. *Creating the National Mosaic: Multiculturalism in Canadian Children's Literature from 1950 to 1994*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Said, Edward W.. 1978. *Orientalism*. Vintage.
- Shan, Hongxia. 2013. "Skill as a Relational Construct: Hiring Practices from the Standpoint of Chinese Immigrant Engineers in Canada." *Work, Employment and Society* 27(6): 915-931.
- Shan, Hongxia. 2015. "Complicating the Entrepreneurial Self: Professional Chinese Immigrant Women Negotiating Occupations in Canada." *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 13(2): 177-193, DOI: 10.1080/14767724.2014.934069.
- Shohat, Ella, and Robert Stam. 1994. *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media*. Sightlines (London, England). London; New York: Routledge.
- Small, Mario Luis. 2011. "How to Conduct a Mixed Methods Study: Recent Trends in a Rapidly Growing Literature." *Annual Review of Sociology* 37:57-86.
- Smith, Dorothy. 1987. "Women's Perspective as a Radical Critique of Sociology." Pp. 84-96 in *Feminism and Methodology*, edited by Sandra Harding. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Smith, Dorothy. 1997. "Comment on Hekman's 'Truth and Method: Feminist Standpoint Theory Revisited'." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*. 22 (2): 392-398.
- Somerville, Kara, and Scott Walsworth. 2010. "Admission and Employment Criteria Discrepancies: Experiences of Skilled Immigrants in Toronto." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 11, no. 3: 341-52.

- Statistics Canada. 2005. *Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada: A Portrait of Early Settlement Experiences*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- Statistics Canada. 2017a. *Admission Category and Applicant Type (7), Period of Immigration (7), Place of Birth (272), Age (12) and Sex (3) for the Immigrant Population Who Landed Between 1980 and 2016, in Private Households of Canada, Provinces and Territories, Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations* (table). 2016 Census. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-400-X2016202. Retrieved January 2020. (<https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/dt-td/Rp-eng.cfm?TABID=2&LANG=E&APATH=3&DETAIL=0&DIM=0&FL=A&FREE=0&GC=0&GID=1341679&GK=0&GRP=1&PID=110558&PRID=10&PTYPE=109445&S=0&SHOWALL=0&SUB=0&Temporal=2017&THEME=120&VID=0&VNAMEE=&VNAMEF=&D1=213&D2=0&D3=0&D4=0&D5=0&D6=0>).
- Statistics Canada. 2017b. *Focus on Geography Series, 2016 Census*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-404-X2016001. Ottawa, Ontario. Data products, 2016 Census. Retrieved January 2020. (<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/as-sa/fogs-spg/Facts-CMA-Eng.cfm?TOPIC=7&LANG=Eng&GK=CMA&GC=725>).
- Statistics Canada. 2017c. Saskatoon, *CY [Census subdivision], Saskatchewan and Canada [Country]* (table). Census Profile. 2016 Census. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-316-X2016001. Ottawa, Ontario. Retrieved January 2020. (<https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E>).
- Statistics Canada. 2017d. *Focus on Geography Series, 2016 Census*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-404-X2016001. Ottawa, Ontario. Data products, 2016 Census. Retrieved January 2020. (<https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/as-sa/fogs-spg/Facts-can-eng.cfm?Lang=Eng&GK=CAN&GC=01&TOPIC=7>).
- Steinert, Heinz, and Pilgram, Arno, eds. 2003. *Welfare Policy from below: Struggles against Social Exclusion in Europe* Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate.

- Taket, Ann, Beth R. Crisp, Annemarie Nevill, Greer Lamaro, Melissa Graham and Sarah Barter-Godfry. 2009. *Theorising Social Exclusion*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Taylor, Lisa and Michael Hoechsmann. 2011. "Beyond Intellectual Insularity: Multicultural Literacy as a Measure of Respect." *Canadian Journal of Education* 32(2):219–38.
- Taylor, Kenneth Wayne. 1991. "Racism in Canadian Immigration Policy." *Canadian Ethnic Studie* 23(1): 1-20.
- Wang, Yixuan. 2012. "Double Bane or Double Boon? The Effects of Gender and the Household Registration System (hukou) on Female Migrant Workers' Employment Opportunities and Earnings in Contemporary Urban China." PhD dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Saskatchewan.
- Wang, Shuguang, and Lucia Lo. 2005. "Chinese Immigrants in Canada: Their Changing Composition and Economic Performance 1." *International Migration* 43(3): 35–71
- Wang, Yixuan, Li Zong and Hui Li. 2011. "Integration and Identity: Barriers to Integration for Migrant Workers in Urban China and Recent Chinese Immigrants in Canada. Paper presented at *ISSCO Conference: Chinese Overseas: Culture, Religions, and Worldview*, June 2011, Hong Kong.
- Wang, Yixuan, Li Zong, and Hui Li. 2012. "Barriers to Social Integration for Chinese Immigrants in Canada, Then and Now: A Comparison." *Journal Of Chinese Overseas* 8(2):205–31.
- Wong, Lloyd L., and Carol Wong. 2006. "Chinese Engineers in Canada: A "Model Minority"? and Experiences and Perceptions of the Glass Ceiling." *Journal of Women and Minorities in Science and Engineering* 12(4): 253-273.
- Woo, Tak-Ling Terry L. 2016. "Distinctive Beliefs and Practices: Chinese Religiosities in Saskatoon, Canada." *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 12(2): 51–284.
- Yu, Yan. 2011. "Reconstruction of Gender Role in Marriage: Processes among Chinese Immigrant Wives." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 42 (5): 651-68.

- Yuen, Felice. 2013. "Building Juniper: Chinese Canadian Motivations for Volunteering and Experiences of Community Development." *Leisure/Loisir* 37(2):159–78.
- Yuen, Jenny K. S. 2008. "'The Moon in Foreign Countries Is Particularly round and Bright' – Narratives of Chinese Immigrant Women in the UK." *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 38(3): 295-306.
- Zhou, Yu. 2000. "The Fall of 'the Other Half of the Sky'? Chinese Immigrant Women in the New York Area." *Women's Studies International Forum* 23 (4): 445.
- Zong, Li. 2005. "Chinese Community." *The Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan*: 170-171. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center.

APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORMS

Consent Form of Survey

Chinese Immigrants Occupation Attainment in Saskatoon

Researcher:

Yi Qin, Master student, Department of Sociology, University of Saskatchewan

Contact: 306-966-8868; email: yiql57@usask.ca

Supervisor:

Li Zong, Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Saskatchewan

Contact: (306)966-6984; email: li.zong@usask.ca

Purpose(s) and Objective(s) of the Research:

This survey is designed to study recent Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon. Information collected here will be used to identify general commonalities of recent Chinese immigrants' occupation attainment, experience and difficulties during job hunting and daily working. The researchers will use the research findings for academic purposes including the graduate thesis and the potential publication of journal articles.

Procedures:

This research project consists of an online survey hosted by Survey Monkey. There are 39 questions in the survey. It will take about 12 minutes to complete. You can fill out this survey online anytime in next two weeks. Your data will be stored in facilities hosted in Canada.

Potential Risks:

There are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research.

Potential Benefits:

The findings of this research will be used to discover new Chinese immigrants' current situation in Saskatoon and changes they bring to the city. It also will contribute to the existing knowledge about Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon and Canada.

Confidentiality:

Survey responses will remain anonymous. Your name will not be asked in the survey. You will be asked for an email address for a further interview at the end of the survey. This email address will be only used as a mean to reach you. You can indicate whether you want to participate in the interview, with no other qualification necessary. If you do not want to participate, you do not need to provide your email address. The anonymity of you and your survey responses will not be affected by providing the email address.

At no time will any specific comments or information be attributed to any individual. All documentation will be kept strictly confidential. Information gathered during the course of this research will be recorded and stored on a secure server and only the principal researchers have access to data. No identifying information will be collected and as a result, the comments respondents make will be anonymous.

Right to Withdraw:

Your participation is voluntary. You can answer only those questions that you are comfortable with. You may withdraw from the research project for any reason, at any time without explanation of any sort by closing your browser. Due to the anonymity of your data, you will be unable to withdraw your responses once submitted. An incomplete survey will result in all your responses data being removed.

By completing and submitting the questionnaire, **YOUR FREE AND INFORMED CONSENT IS IMPLIED** and indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study.

Questions or Concerns:

This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the Research Ethics Office ethics.office@usask.ca (306) 966-2975. Out of town participants may call toll free (866) 966-2975.

Please contact Yi Qin, Master student, Department of Sociology, (yiq157@usask.ca) for more information about this survey. If you are interested in the findings of this study, please contact the researcher for a summary of the findings.

本问卷旨在研究萨斯卡卡通的中国新移民。本问卷所收集的信息会被用于研究新移民的就业情况，以及找工作和日常工作经历与困难。研究发现会被研究员用于硕士毕业论文，以及学术文章的发表。

本问卷包含 43 个问题（根据回答的不同，您可能无需回答所有问题）。大概需要 12 分钟来回答整个问卷。在接下来的两周里，您可以随时在网上填选答案。您的数据会被储存在加拿大的服务器中。

参加本问卷调查不会对您造成任何潜在的危險。

调查结果将会用于研究萨斯卡卡通中国新移民的现状，并对现有的关于在加拿大中国移民知识体系做出贡献。

问卷的回答都是匿名的。我们不会询问您的姓名。在问卷最后您会被问到是否为一个后续的深入访谈提供联系方式。这个联系方式只会被用作联系您。您可以自由决定是否参加后续访谈，不需要满足任何附加条件。如果您不希望参加后续访谈，您不必填写联系方式。提供联系方式不会影响到您和您问卷答案的匿名性。

任何具体的评论或信息不会指向到个人。所有的记录会严格保密。在此收集的信息会被记录保存在一个安全的服务器上并且只有主要研究员们能够接触。任何个人指向性的数据不会被采集，所有评论将会以匿名的形式呈现。

您的参与将完全出于自愿。您可以只回答您愿意回答的问题。您可以在任何时候通过关掉网页的方式来退

出本调查，无需任何理由。由于数据的匿名性，一旦提交问卷，您的数据将无法撤回。未完成问卷的数据将会被移除。

填写并提交本问卷代表您理解并同意以上的条款，并自愿参加这项调查研究。

本研究已通过萨斯喀彻温大学伦理委员会的批准。如果您对自己作为研究参与者的权利有任何问题，可联系萨斯喀彻温大学伦理委员会 ethics.office@usask.ca (306) 966-2975。外地参与者可拨打免费电话 (866) 966-2975。

如果您对这个问卷有任何问题，或者对本研究的调查结果感兴趣，希望获得一份调查总结，请联系我，秦以，萨斯喀彻温大学社会学系研究生，yiq157@usask.ca。

Consent Form of Interview

Chinese Immigrants Occupation Attainment in Saskatoon

Researcher: 研究员

Yi Qin, Master student, Department of Sociology, University of Saskatchewan

秦以，萨斯喀彻温大学 社会学系 研究生

Contact 联系方式: 306-966-8868; email: yiq157@usask.ca

Supervisor: 指导老师

Li Zong, Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Saskatchewan

宗力，萨斯喀彻温大学 社会学系 教授

Contact 联系方式: (306)966-6984; email: li.zong@usask.ca

Purpose(s) and Objective(s) of the Research: 研究目的

This research aims to study recent Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon. This interview is designed to find out immigrants' personal experience that cannot be addressed in the previous survey. The researcher intends to give you an opportunity to speak out your experience and feelings in job hunting and daily working. Information collected here will be used as examples to illustrate results found in the survey. The researchers will use the research findings for academic purposes including the graduate thesis and the potential publication of journal articles.

本访谈旨在找出问卷调查中较难收集的移民的个人经历。我们意在给您一个机会来讲述您找工作和日常工作中经历与感受。在访谈中收集到的信息仅会被用作学术相关用途包括研究生论文以及可能的期刊文章。

Procedures: 过程

It will take about 15-30 minutes to complete. Language used in this interview, either English or Chinese, depends on your choice. This interview will be audio recorded, and a transcript will be produced by Yi Qin. You can have the recording device turned off at any time without giving a reason. Your data will be stored in facilities hosted in Canada.

这个访谈大概需要 15-30 分钟，您可以选择用英语或者中文来进行。这个访谈会被录音，研究员秦以将会依旧录音内容写一份文字记录。您可以随时选择让研究员停止录音。收集的数据将会被储存在加拿大的服务器中。

Potential Risks: 潜在危险

There is a chance that you may feel embarrassed, shamed, anxious, or hurt by recalling your experience.

参加本访谈，通过回忆您的经历，您可能会感受到尴尬，羞愧，焦虑或者痛心。

Potential Benefits: 潜在的益处

The findings of this research will be used to discover new Chinese immigrants' situation in Saskatoon and changes they bring to the city. It also will contribute to the existing knowledge about Chinese immigrants in Saskatoon and Canada.

本研究的结果将会被用来研究在萨斯卡通的中国新移民的现状和他们带给城市的变化，并且会对关于在萨斯卡通与加拿大的中国移民的现有知识主体有所贡献。

Compensation: 报酬

You will be given a 10-dollar Tim Hortons gift card, even you choose to withdraw from the study.

您将收到一个价值 10 加元的 Tim Hortons 的礼品卡，即使您选择退出本项研究。

Confidentiality: 保密性

Your full name will not be asked in the interview. You can choose an alias (a fake name) as you wish. Recording and transcript of this interview will be kept strictly confidential. Only the research supervisor Li Zong and student researcher Yi Qin have access to data. The data collected from this interview will be stored in Dr. Zong's university's office desktop computer and the University of Saskatchewan secure Cabinet on PAWS. Your consent form will be stored separately from your interview data. When the data no longer required, the data will be destroyed.

我们不会询问您的全名，您可以选择一个化名。录音和文字备份会被严格保密，只有研究员秦以和指导导师宗力博士能够接触这些数据。它们会被储存在宗力博士的大学办公室电脑里，以及萨省大学的安全网络存储器中。您的同意书会和您的访谈记录分别储存。当这些数据不再被需要的时候，它们会被销毁。

Right to Withdraw: 撤回的权力

Your participation is voluntary. You can answer only those questions that you are comfortable with. You may withdraw from the interview for any reason, at any time without explanation by informing the researcher that you wish to stop being interviewed. Should you wish to withdraw, your interview data will be destroyed and not included in further analysis of this research. You may withdraw your data after the interview without giving any reason. Your data will be removed from analysis and destroyed. Your right to withdraw data from the study will apply until April 30, 2020. After this date, it is possible that some form of research dissemination will have already occurred, and it may not be possible to withdraw your data.

您的参与将出于您的完全自愿。您可以只回答您想回答的问题。您随时可以从访谈中撤出，不需要向研究员解释您的动机。当您想要退出的时候，您的访谈数据会被销毁，后续的研究也不会再使用。访谈结束后您也可以无条件的选择撤回您的数据。当您的数据被撤回后，相关的纪录会被销毁并不会出现在后续研究中。撤回数据的最后期限是 2020 年，四月 30 日。此期限过后，研究结果可能已被发表，无法再撤回数据。

Questions or Concerns: 相关问题

This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the Research Ethics Office ethics.office@usask.ca (306) 966-2975. Out of town participants may call toll free (866) 966-2975. Please contact Yi Qin, Master student, Department of Sociology, (yiq157@usask.ca) for more information about this research. 本研究已通过萨斯喀彻温大学伦理委员会的批准。如果您对自己作为研究参与者的权利有任何问题，可联系萨斯喀彻温大学伦理委员会 ethics.office@usask.ca (306) 966-2975. 免费电话 (866) 966-2975。如果您对本研究有疑问或对调查结果感兴趣，请联系萨省大学社会学系研究生秦以(yiq157@usask.ca)。

Consent 同意

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understand the description provided
您的签名代表您已阅读并理解以上条件。

I have had an opportunity to ask questions and my/our questions have been answered. I consent to participate in the research project. A copy of this Consent Form has been given to me for my records.

我已有过提问的机会并且我的问题得到了回答。我同意参加这个访谈。我已得到本同意书的备份。

Name of Participant 受访人姓名

Signature 受访人签字

Date 日期

Researcher's Signature 研究员签字

Date 日期

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.
您与研究员将分别获得一份本同意书的备份

APPENDIX B: ETHICS APPROVAL



UNIVERSITY OF
SASKATCHEWAN

Behavioural Research Ethics Board (Beh-REB) 23-May-2019

Certificate of Approval

Application ID: 1080

Principal Investigator: Li Zong

Department: Department of Sociology

Locations Where Research

Activities are Conducted: Saskatoon, Canada
online, Canada

Student(s): Yi Qin

Funder(s):

Sponsor:

Title: Occupation Attainment of Recent Chinese Immigrant Women in Saskatoon

Approved On: 23/05/2019

Expiry Date: 22/05/2020

Approval Of: Behavioural Research Ethics Application

Survey

Flyer and Email Recruitment Script

Interview Questions

Consent Forms (interview and survey)

Acknowledgment Of:

Review Type: Delegated Review

CERTIFICATION

The University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board (Beh-REB) is constituted and operates in accordance with the current version of the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS 2 2014). The University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board has reviewed the above-named project. The proposal was found to be acceptable on ethical grounds. The principal investigator has the responsibility for any other administrative or regulatory approvals that may pertain to this project, and for ensuring that the authorized project is carried out according to the conditions outlined in the original protocol submitted for ethics review. This Certificate of Approval is valid for the above time period provided there is no change in experimental protocol or consent process or documents.

Any significant changes to your proposed method, or your consent and recruitment procedures should be reported to the Chair for Research Ethics Board consideration in advance of its implementation.

ONGOING REVIEW REQUIREMENTS

In order to receive annual renewal, a status report must be submitted to the REB Chair for Board consideration within one month prior to the current expiry date each year the project remains open, and upon project completion. Please refer to the following website for further instructions: <https://vpresearch.usask.ca/researchers/forms.php>.

***Digitally Approved by Patricia Simonson, Vice Chair
Behavioural Research Ethics Board
University of Saskatchewan***

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

- Do you have a paid job currently?

您现在是否有一份有收入的工作？

For interviewees who have a job:

1. Can you give me some information about your current job? 请告诉我一些您现在工作相关的信息
2. How do you feel about your job environment? Have you ever felt being discriminated because of your identity as a Chinese immigrant? If so, in what way?
您对现在的工作环境有什么感受？您是否因为中国移民这一身份而受到歧视？如果有，是怎样的歧视？
3. How do you feel about your job-hunting experience? Have you ever felt being discriminated because of your identity as a Chinese immigrant? If so, in what way?
您对您的求职经历有什么感受？您是否因为中国移民这一身份而受到歧视？如果有，是怎样的歧视？
4. Can you tell me your future plan? (e.g. Will you stay in Saskatoon or move to another city? Will you change your job?)

可以告诉我您未来的规划吗？（例如 您会留在萨斯卡通还是搬到别的城市？您是否会更换工作？）

For interviewees who do not have a job:

1. Did you try to find a job after you arrived in Saskatoon? If so, how do you feel about your job-hunting experience? Have you ever felt being discriminated because of your identity as a Chinese immigrant? If so, in what way?
您是否曾经在达到萨斯卡通后尝试找工作？您对您的求职经历有什么感受？您是否因为中国移民这一身份而受到歧视？如果有，是怎样的歧视？
2. Can you tell me the reasons why you are not working? 您能否告诉我现在不工作的原因？
3. Do you plan to work in the future? 您未来有工作的打算吗？
4. Can you tell me your future plan? (e.g. Will you stay in Saskatoon or move to another city?)

可以告诉我您未来的规划吗？（例如 您会在留在萨斯卡通还是搬到别的城市？）

APPENDIX D: SURVEY QUESTIONS

Chinese Immigrants' Occupation Attainment in Saskatoon Survey

在萨斯卡通的中国移民就业现状 调查问卷

1. What is your age? 你的年纪是?
 - A. 18-24
 - B. 25-34
 - C. 35-44
 - D. 45-54
 - E. 55-64
 - F. 65+
2. What is your current marital status? 你的婚姻状态是?
 - A. Single, never married 单身, 未婚
 - B. Married 已婚
 - C. Living common-law 同居/事实婚姻
 - D. Separated 分居
 - E. Widowed 丧偶
 - F. Divorced 离异
3. Do you have a child/children? 你是否有孩子?
 - A. Yes [Go to question 4]
 - B. No [Go to question 5]
4. How many children do you have? 你有几个孩子?
 - A. 1
 - B. 2
 - C. 3
 - D. 3+
5. What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received? 你的最高学历是什么?
 - A. No formal education (Go to question 8) 没有正式教育
 - B. Elementary School 小学
 - C. Secondary school (high school) 中学
 - D. College / vocational training 职业学校
 - E. Bachelor's degree (B.A., B.Sc., etc.) 本科
 - F. Graduate degree –Master 研究生-硕士

- G. Graduate degree --PhD. 研究生-博士
- H. Other, Please specify_____ 其他-请具体描述
6. What is the highest level of education that you **have completed outside of Canada?**
你在加拿大以外的最高学历是什么？
- A. Elementary school 小学
- B. Secondary school (high school) 中学
- C. College / vocational training 职业学校
- D. Bachelor's degree (B.A., B.Sc., etc.) 本科
- E. Graduate degree --Master 研究生-硕士
- F. Graduate degree --PhD. 研究生-博士
- G. Other, Please specify_____ 其他-请具体描述
7. What is the highest level of education that you **have completed in Canada?**
你在加拿大以外的最高学历是什么？
- A. No formal education (Go to question 8) 没有正式教育
- B. Elementary School 小学
- C. Secondary school (high school) 中学
- D. College / vocational training 职业学校
- E. Bachelor's degree (B.A., B.Sc., etc.) 本科
- F. Graduate degree --Master 研究生-硕士
- G. Graduate degree --PhD. 研究生-博士
- H. Other, Please specify_____ 其他-请具体描述
8. When did you land Saskatoon? 你什么时候到达萨斯卡通的？
-
9. Under which immigration category did you enter Canada? 你通过以下哪个方式移民加拿大？
- A. Skilled worker or professional – principal applicant 技术移民—主申请人
- B. Skilled worker or professional – dependent 技术移民—配偶、子女
- C. Family class 家庭类
- D. Provincial nominee– principal applicant 省提名—主申请人
- E. Provincial nominee– dependent 省提名—配偶、子女
- F. Refugee 难民类
- G. Business class (investor, entrepreneur, or self-employed) – Principal applicant 商业类别 (投资者、企业家或自营职业者) - 主申请人
- H. Business class (investor, entrepreneur, or self-employed) – Dependent 商业类别 (投资者、企业家或自营职业者) - 配偶、子女
- I. Canadian experience class – principal applicant 加拿大经验类—主申请人
- J. Canadian experience class – dependent 加拿大经验类—配偶、子女

- K. Live-in caregiver 住家保姆
- L. Not sure 不太确定
- M. Other (please specify) 其他（请具体列出）

10. When did you become a permanent resident? 你什么时候成为加拿大永久居民的？

11. Did you have a paid job before your migration? 在移民前，你曾有过一份工作吗？

- A. Yes [Go to question 12]
- B. No [Go to question 19]

12. Was this job full-time or part-time? 这份工作是全职还是兼职？

- A. Full-time 全职
- B. Part-time 兼职

13. What field did that job belong to? 从前这份工作属于什么领域？

- A. Art, culture, recreation and sport 艺术、文化、娱乐和体育
- B. Business, Finance, Management and Administration 商务、金融、中层管理与行政管理
- C. Community and Government Services 社区与政府机构
- D. Education and School 教育与学校
- E. Health and Medicine 医疗与健康
- F. Law 法律
- G. Natural and Applied Science 自然与应用科学
- H. Natural Resources, Agriculture and Related Production Occupations 自然资源、农业与相关产业
- I. Sales and Service 营销与服务
- J. Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators 贸易、交通与重型设备操作
- K. Other (please specify) 其他（请具体列出）

14. What was your annual employment income? 你从前的年收入是多少？（加元）

- A. Under (低于) \$15,000
- B. Between \$15,000 and \$29,999
- C. Between \$30,000 and \$49,999
- D. Between \$50,000 and \$74,999
- E. Between \$75,000 and \$99,999
- F. Between \$100,000 and \$150,000
- G. Over (高于) \$150,000

15. How many hours did you work every week? 你从前每周工作多少小时？

- A. Less than 40 hours every week 每周低于40小时
- B. 40 hours every week (8hrs/day; 5 days/week) 每周40小时（8小时/天；5天/周）

- C. More than 40 hours, less than 48 hours every week 每周多于40小时，少于48小时
 - D. More than 48 hours every week 每周高于48小时
 - E. Other (please specify) 其他（请具体写出）
16. Were you satisfied with this previous job? 你对从前的工作感到满意吗？
- A. Very satisfied 非常满意
 - B. Satisfied 满意
 - C. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied 中立（既没有满意，也没有不满意）
 - D. Dissatisfied 不满意
 - E. Very dissatisfied 非常不满意
17. Were you satisfied with this previous income? 你对从前的工资感到满意吗？
- A. Very satisfied 非常满意
 - B. Satisfied 满意
 - C. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied 中立（既没有满意，也没有不满意）
 - D. Dissatisfied 不满意
 - E. Very dissatisfied 非常不满意
18. How well do you think your previous job matched your knowledge, education and skills? 你认为从前的工作和你的知识、教育和技能匹配吗？
- A. Extremely well. 非常匹配
 - B. Very well 很匹配/大部分匹配
 - C. Somewhat well 有些匹配
 - D. Not so well 不太匹配
 - E. Not at all 完全不匹配
19. Do you currently have a paid job? 你现在是否有一份有收入的工作？
- A. Yes
 - B. No [Go to question 27]
20. Is this job full-time or part-time? 这份工作是全职还是兼职
- A. Full-time 全职
 - B. Part-time 兼职
21. What field does this job belongs to? 现在这份工作属于什么领域？
- A. Art, culture, recreation and sport 艺术、文化、娱乐和体育
 - B. Business, Finance, Management and Administration 商务、金融、中层管理与行政管理
 - C. Community and Government Services 社区与政府机构
 - D. Education and School 教育与学校
 - E. Health and Medicine 医疗与健康
 - F. Law 法律

- G. Natural and Applied Science 自然与应用科学
 - H. Natural Resources, Agriculture and Related Production Occupations 自然资源、农业与相关产业
 - I. Sales and Service 营销与服务
 - J. Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators 贸易、交通与重型设备操作
 - K. Other (please specify) 其他（请具体列出）
22. What is your annual employment income? 你现在的年收入是？（加元）
- A. Under 低于\$15,000
 - B. Between \$15,000 and \$29,999
 - C. Between \$30,000 and \$49,999
 - D. Between \$50,000 and \$74,999
 - E. Between \$75,000 and \$99,999
 - F. Between \$100,000 and \$150,000
 - G. Over 高于\$150,000
23. How many hours do you work every week? 你现在每周的工作时间是？
- A. 40 hours every week (8hrs/day; 5 days/week) 每周 40 小时（八小时/天；五天/周）
 - B. more than 40 hours, less than 48 hours 多于 40 小时，低于 48 小时
 - C. less than 40 hours 低于 40 小时
 - D. Other (please specify) 其他，请具体说明
24. Are you satisfied with your current job? 你对现在的工作感到满意吗？
- A. Very satisfied 非常满意
 - B. Satisfied 满意
 - C. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied 既不满意，也没有不满意
 - D. Dissatisfied 不满意
 - E. Very dissatisfied 非常不满意
25. Are you satisfied with your current income? 你对现在的工资感到满意吗？
- A. Very satisfied 非常满意
 - B. Satisfied 满意
 - C. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied 既不满意，也没有不满意
 - D. Dissatisfied 不满意
 - E. Very dissatisfied 非常不满意
26. How well do you think your job matches your education, knowledge and skills? [Go to question 30] 你认为你现在的工作和你的教育水平、知识以及技能匹配吗？
- F. Extremely well. 非常匹配
 - G. Very well 很匹配/大部分匹配
 - H. Somewhat well 有些匹配

I. Not so well 不太匹配

J. Not at all 完全不匹配

27. Are you satisfied with staying at home? 你对呆在家里感到满意吗?

A. Very satisfied 非常满意

B. Satisfied 满意

C. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied 既不满意，也没有不满意

D. Dissatisfied 不满意

E. Very dissatisfied 非常不满意

28. Do you plan to work in the future? 你未来有工作的打算吗?

A. Yes

B. No

29. Why do you make such plan? 你为什么有这样的打算?

30. What was/were the difficulty(ies) to you during **job finding**? (Multiple choices)

在找工作的过程中你遇到了什么困难? (可多选)

A. Language barrier (unable to speak English/ French fluently) 语言障碍 (不能流利使用英语/法语)

B. Different cultural environment with norms that you find hard to follow 不同的文化环境和习俗使你感到难以习惯

C. Credential not being recognized 文凭不被认可

D. Unable to find a job that matches your credential and skills 无法找到和你文凭与技能匹配的工作

E. Unable to find a job with an acceptable wage 无法找到工资可以接受的工作

F. Not applicable (Did not have job finding experience) [Go to 28]

这个问题不适用于我 (没有找工作的经历)

G. Other (please specify) 其他, 请具体描述

31. What was the **most** challenging difficulty to you during **job finding**? (Single choice)

在找工作的过程中你遇到最大的困难是什么? (单选)

A. Language barrier (unable to speak English/ French fluently) 语言障碍 (不能流利使用英语/法语)

B. Different cultural environment with norms that you find hard to follow 不同的文化环境和习俗使你感到难以习惯

C. Credential not being recognized 文凭不被认可

D. Unable to find a job that matches your credential and skills 无法找到和你文凭与技能匹配的工作

E. Unable to find a job with an acceptable wage 无法找到工资可以接受的工作

F. Other (please specify) 其他，请具体描述

32. What is/are the difficulty(ies) to you during **daily working experience**? (Multiple choices)
在现在的日常工作中，你遇到了什么困难？（可多选）

- A. Language barrier (unable to speak English/ French fluently) 语言障碍（不能流利的使用英语/法语）
- B. Different cultural environment with norms that you find hard to follow 不同的文化习俗使你感到很难适应
- C. Strict superior 严厉的上司
- D. Unfriendly colleagues 不友好的同事
- E. Harsh working environment 恶劣的工作环境
- F. Low wage 低工资
- G. Not applicable (not currently working) 这个问题不适用于我（现在没有工作）[Go to 30]
- H. Other (please specify) 其他（请具体列出）

33. What was the **most** challenging difficulty to you during your daily working experience?
(Single choice) 在现在的日常工作中，你遇到最大的困难是什么？（单选）

- A. Language barrier (unable to speak English/ French fluently) 语言障碍（不能流利的使用英语/法语）
- B. Different cultural environment with norms that you find hard to follow 不同的文化习俗使你感到很难适应
- C. Strict superior 严厉的上司
- D. Unfriendly colleagues 不友好的同事
- E. Harsh working environment 恶劣的工作环境
- F. Low wage 低工资
- G. Other (please specify) 其他（请具体列出）

34. Did you feel discriminated because of your ethnic identity (being a Chinese immigrant) during job finding? 在找工作过程中，你是否曾感觉到因为你的中国移民身份而受到过歧视？

- A. Yes
- B. No [Go to question 37]

35. How serious do you feel discriminated during job finding? 在找工作过程中，你觉得受到的歧视有多严重？

- A. Very Seriously 非常严重
- B. Seriously 严重
- C. Somewhat Seriously 有一点严重
- D. Not very seriously but you do feel it 不是很严重但你确实感觉到了歧视
- E. Other (please specify) 其他（请具体列出）

36. In what way(s) do you feel discriminated during job finding? (Multiple choices)

在找工作过程中，你从什么方面感觉到被歧视？（可多选）

- A. Non-obvious facial expression, gesture, body language, etc. 不明显的面部表情，手势，身体语言，等等。
- B. Obvious facial expression, gesture, body language, etc. 明显的面部表情，手势，身体语言，等等。
- C. Explicit verbal expression, etc. 明显的语言表达，等等。
- D. Significant unfair treatment compares to other ethnic colleagues 与其他族裔的同事相比，受到了明显不公平的对待。
- E. Other (please specify) 其他（请具体列出）

37. Did you feel discriminated because of your ethnic identity (being a Chinese immigrant) during the daily working experience?

在现在日常工作中，你是否感到因为你的中国移民身份而被歧视？

- A. Yes
- B. No [Go to question 41]
- C. Not applicable (not currently working) 这道题对我不适用（现在没有在工作） [Go to question 40]

38. How serious do you feel discriminated during daily working experience?

在现在的日常工作中，你觉得受到了多严重的歧视？

- A. Very seriously 非常严重
- B. Seriously 严重
- C. Somewhat Seriously 有一点严重
- D. Not very seriously but you do feel it. 不是很严重但你确实感觉到了歧视
- E. Other (please specify) 其他（请具体列出）

39. In what way(s) do you feel discriminated during daily working experience? (multiple

choices) [Go to question 41] 在现在的日常工作中，你从什么方面感觉到了歧视？（可多选）

- A. Non-obvious facial expression, gesture, body language, etc. 不明显的面部表情，手势，身体语言，等等。
- B. Obvious facial expression, gesture, body language, etc. 明显的面部表情，手势，身体语言，等等。
- C. Explicit verbal expression, etc. 明显的语言表达，等等。
- D. Significant unfair treatment compares to other ethnic colleagues 与其他族裔的同事相比，受到了明显不公平的对待。
- E. Other (please specify) 其他（请具体列出）

40. What is/are the reason(s) for your unemployment? (multiple choices) 你不就业的原因是什么? (可多选)

- A. Unable to find a job that matches your credential 找不到一个适合你学历的工作
- B. Unable to find a job with an acceptable wage 找不到一个工资让你能接受的工作
- C. Unable to find a job because of discrimination against your ethnic identity as a Chinese immigrant 因为对你身为中国移民的歧视, 使你找不到工作
- D. Language barrier 语言障碍
- E. Staying home to take care of child(ren) 在家照顾孩子
- F. Partner's income is good enough to support the family, no need for you to work 伴侣有足够收入支持家庭, 你不需要去工作。
- G. Other (please specify) 其他 (请具体列出)

41. What is your gender? 你的性别是?

- A. Female 女性
- B. Male 男性
- C. Other (please specify)

42. There is a further interview followed, are you willing to participate in it (about 30 minutes)?

You will be given a \$5 Tim Hortons gift card if you choose to participate

你是否愿意参加这个研究的一个后续访谈? (大约半小时) 如果选择参加你将会获得一个5加元的 Tim Hortons 礼品卡

- A. Yes
- B. No [end of the survey]

43. Please leave your contact information so we can contact you for the interview. 请留下你的联系方式以便我们后续联系你

End of Survey. Thanks for your participation. 😊

问卷结束, 感谢您的参与! 😊

[End of Survey]